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**The Lives and Careers of Female Teachers
in a Rural New Zealand Secondary School**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the lives and careers of six female secondary school teachers who have worked in the rural secondary school, Central Hawkes bay College. The study used an overarching method of life history.

The data which formed the basis of this research were collected via semi structured interviews with the six interviewees whose careers span from 1960 to the present day. The women reflected on their time teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College and described their experiences through the use of narrative and personal anecdote.

This thesis explores the lives and careers of these women in relation to their experiences living and working in a rural community. The discussion focused on; their initial arrival in the community, their sense of belonging both in the community and at school, the private public nature of teaching in a rural community, the impact of both teaching, and specifically teaching in a rural community, had on their family life, factors relating to NCEA, and the emotionality of teaching.

The main findings from this study discussed the evidence gathered on feelings of belonging on arriving in a new community, It identified the respect and care experienced by the six teachers, and the intersecting of both their private and public lives, both in a positive and negative way. Interviewees discussed the challenges associated with moderation and learning opportunities, and, increased workload generated by NCEA in a rural secondary school. Also acknowledged and discussed was the role emotionality plays within teaching, specifically within different career stages.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND PROCESS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research provided an opportunity to step into the lives of six women as they recalled their life and career journeys through their time teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College. The thesis seeks to provide insight into women's' lives in a small rural town in New Zealand, the joys and frustrations that come with that in both their personal and professional lives. The focus of this thesis draws upon research literature that examines the lives and careers of female teachers in rural secondary schools.

Grundy and Hatton (1998) discuss that research on teacher's lives through life history has a strong autobiographical theme. They explain that researchers have not just been content with simply recounting history from the outside, but rather provide insider accounts. In order to understand a career as intensely personal as teaching can be, it is suggested that we also need to understand who the person the teacher is. In studying the personal lives of teachers in balance with their careers, we are attempting to generate a counter-culture, one that does not view teachers being seen as subjects or 'villain's', but rather undertake research that endeavours to listen to the teacher's voice, in all aspects of their life and career (Goodson, 1992).

In this chapter I will explain my own autobiographical context and position as an insider. I give my rationale for undertaking the research and research questions which inform the thesis. I then discuss my theoretical framework, the feminist perspective which underpins my writing, and I conclude this chapter with an overview of the thesis.

1.2 AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT/ POSITION AS AN INSIDER

The topic of this study has arisen from my own personal journey into the unique world of the rural community. I was brought up in two different provincial towns in the North Island of New Zealand, firstly Fielding, a town in the Manawatū, and then Waikanae on the Kāpiti coast, then I spent my secondary school and university years living in Palmerston North.

In 2001 after the birth of our second child my husband and I moved to Waipawa, Central Hawkes Bay. Up until this point I had not realised I was in fact a 'townie,' it became quickly apparent that I needed to learn a whole new vernacular to survive in a rural setting. Bringing up five children in this rural community, while also undertaking part time study and then a job at the local secondary school threw me directly into the centre of the local community. It also provided me with a range of new experiences in everyday life; gumboots lined up outside shops so they don't tramp mud in, the smell of lambs tails during docking season, tractors driving down the main road, and where a quick trip to the supermarket takes much longer as you know every second person you see. New Zealand has been transformed more and more into an urban society and part of that makes me sad. I get a knot in my stomach when another local business closes, when meat workers get laid off, when big out of town businesses win contracts causing our local ones to close up shop. There is something magical about this small rural town, Waipukurau, where I live. The familiar faces, the slower pace, the community relationships, they all come together to weave a story that has been forged over many years. As a female teaching at a rural secondary school, and also a school guidance counsellor, this topic is essentially part of my personal life and career journey. In getting

to know my colleagues over the last 4 years I have caught a glimpse of stories I believe need to be told, of a sometimes difficult and stressful work life and the struggles that come with trying to balance that at home, but also a love and passion for the job and students. In a rural small town context, I now know that a community can be defined by its secondary school, and a secondary school is often defined and affected by its community. This thesis will add to our knowledge and understanding of the impact teaching in a rural secondary school has for our female teachers. Not only their careers, but their personal lives as well.

1.3 RATIONALE

This thesis is an opportunity to add to the body of research of oral histories of teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand. Green and Hutching (2004) discuss in the early years of the oral history revival, young historians influenced by feminism sought to record the voices of those who had been excluded from mainstream political history, chiefly women and working class ethnic minorities. "Through individual life histories, oral historians can better understand the impact of historical transformations on a broad range of individual lives, and illuminate the dynamic roles of ordinary people in making history"(Green & Hutching, 2004, p.3). It is with this in mind I choose the topic of my thesis; The Lives and Careers of Female Teachers in a Rural New Zealand Secondary School. I wanted to explore the stories of these women, and by listening, recording, transcribing, and retelling, I would ensure they would be cemented as part of women's history in New Zealand.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this study was to investigate and explore the lives and careers of female teachers in a rural secondary school in New Zealand. It is to gain insight into their experiences living and working in a rural community. It aims to use a research process that is empowering, allowing the participants to describe for themselves their experiences both in their lives, and careers.

Consistent with the aim of recording women teachers' life and career experiences in their own voices, the following research questions guided the study as a whole, and the interviews, with each of the participants:

- What are rural women teachers' experiences and perspectives of teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College?
- How do the lives and careers of woman teachers intersect while living and working in this rural community?

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

My method of research, life history, is not identified as a 'feminist research method' but rather I identify as a feminist who is doing research (Reinharz, 1992). My knowledge of feminist research is very much still in its infancy, however I have always felt a pull and kinship towards the feminist perspective. I have been born into a family of strong women. Kate Sheppard (NZ History, 2016) the first woman in the world to vote is a great great aunt married into our family. The legacy of her involvement with the women's suffrage movement has been passed down through our family. What she believed and stood for resonated with my granny. When my grandparents immigrated to New Zealand with my father they looked for a church to belong to. However, they quickly left the denomination they originally settled in as women were not permitted to pray aloud

or assume leadership roles within the church. Granny spoke to me about this decision and often inspired and encouraged me to be a strong female leader within my own church community. When I was 11 years old my father passed away suddenly from a brain hemorrhage. This left my mother, me, and my two older sisters to navigate the world together. I was surrounded by strong female role models and was encouraged and brought me up to believe as a woman, I could achieve great things. Not 'despite being a woman', but because I am a woman. I therefore identify myself as a feminist and part of the women's movement of research on women, by women. To that end this thesis is guided in its theoretical framework from a feminist perspective. In the words of Carol Christ (1986) "The simple act of telling a women's story from a women's point of view is a revolutionary act" (as cited in Munro, 1998, p. 5). Lather (1988) explains that in order to carry out feminist research one must put the social construction of gender at the centre of the inquiry, "feminist researchers see gender as a basic organizing principle which profoundly shapes/mediates the concrete conditions of our lives" (p. 571).

Reniharz (1992) explains in using feminist oral history, a growing awareness of women's lives has resulted in a change in the historical record. This has been responsible for a shift in historical methodology. She explains that this shift reflects the feminist agenda of focusing on helping to make women central to historical analysis. She argues that most feminist oral historians share the goal of encouraging and enabling women to speak for themselves. In doing this the process of feminist research on individual lives is a circular process. The woman conducting the study learns about herself as well as the woman she is studying.

The life history process can address feminist concerns; that research is, and can be,

empowering and transformative. The narratives of female teachers help us understand not only the complexity of their lives but also how they construct themselves through their own personal narrative. This includes aspects that not only have been missed traditionally, but also how their private and public lives intersect (Munro, 1998).

1.6 OVERVIEW OF THESIS

Chapter two examines the literature and research related to this thesis. The literature review attempts to focus on the themes of rural teaching, secondary schooling, and female teachers, using New Zealand sources wherever possible.

Chapter three frames the thesis in relation to the community where the research was conducted. It gives a brief historical background of the town, secondary school, churches, and other community groups pertinent to the lives of the six women.

Chapter four discusses the methodology used in this research. Firstly, I discuss the power of the concept of 'story'. I justify why I have chosen life history as my method of data collection and explain the selection of participants, interview format, analysis of the data, and finally ethical considerations.

In Chapter five I bring my findings and discussion together. I introduce the six women interviewed beginning with a vignette on each woman. These are taken from their interview transcripts written in a way as to encapsulate their lives holistically. I then present the findings of my research. These are divided up into five themes and within the themes sub categories are used where necessary to show variation and complexity of experience. The third part of this chapter is a discussion of the data in relation to the

literature reviewed.

An overview of the thesis is presented in chapter six and my contribution to the literature discussed. I return to the feminist perspective, reflect on my limitations of the study, and give suggestions for further research. To conclude my thesis final reflections are shared.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into eight themes, these being: 'The Importance of Studying Teachers Lives and Careers', 'Research on Women', 'Women in Teaching', 'Rural Schools and the Rural Community', 'Teaching in the Rural Community', 'School-Home Relationships', 'NCEA', and 'Emotionality in Teaching'. This chapter summarises research from both around the world and that specific to New Zealand on these subjects.

2.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING TEACHERS LIVES AND CAREERS

The study of teachers' lives is beneficial for two reasons; the first, its ability to present us with information that will help to improve education, and the second, by engaging in discussion the teacher is provided with opportunities for reflection which lead to professional development and growth (Convery, 1999). O'Brien and Schillaci (2002) agree explaining that the better we understand ourselves as persons, the better we understand ourselves as teachers. Teachers have been the subject of many research investigations focusing on a wide range of topics; curriculum and schooling (Goodson, 1991), perceptions of their professional identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Verloop & Vermunt, 2000; Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006), concepts which shape beginning teacher's identities (Flores, & Day, 2006) and teachers' work and the effects on pupils' schooling (Day, Sammons & Gu, 2008). Goodson (1992) however

believes when researching all facets of schooling, one of the most neglected aspects and that which is constantly taken for granted, is the importance of the teachers' lives.

Ball and Goodson (1985) note the great importance in improving the ways we understand careers in teaching, in relation to, and in the context of, teachers' lives as a whole.

The notion of the teacher's voice is important in that it carries the tone, the language, the quality, the feelings that are conveyed by the way a teacher speaks or writes. In a political sense the notion of a teacher's voice addresses the right to speak and be represented. It can represent both the unique individual and the collective voice; one that is characteristic of teachers as compared to other groups. (Butt, Raymond, McCue & Yamagishi 1992, p. 57)

2.3 RESEARCH ON WOMEN

In 1977 Sherna Gluck presented an article in the Journal of Women's Studies titled "*What's so Special about Women? Women's Oral History*". Gluck argued the importance of challenging the traditional concepts of what is considered historically important. When female historians first began the task of researching and expanding the historical accounts of women, they relied on traditional concepts and methods. However due to the small amount of documentation available, oral history emerged as a method which could create alternative sources. She explained that woman historians all over America began using the tradition of oral history, a method brought from Africa in the 1920s

when they started to record the stories of former slaves. She discussed the importance and significant experience not only for the interviewer but also the interviewee.

As those of us collecting oral histories from women well know, there is invariably a reciprocal affirmation between interviewer and interviewee of the worth of the woman being interviewed. The fact that someone is interested in learning about her life, increased her self-esteem. Women's oral history, then, is a feminist encounter, even if the interviewee is not herself a feminist. It is the creation of a new type of material on women; it is the validation of women's experiences; it is the communication among women of different generations; it is the discovery of our own roots and the development of a continuity which has been denied us in traditional historical accounts. (p. 5)

Rose (2015) explains that by leaving women out of history, only half the story is being told. In telling these forgotten and sometimes hidden stories, transformation, personal, and societal growth is realised.

In the 1980s changes were brought into effect within the New Zealand history curriculum. The revised version stated a greater emphasis in the new syllabus on women, their role, and women's history (Harrison, 1994; Sheehan, 2010). In making women's history a requirement the minority of teachers who wanted to do so now had opportunity to include this content in their teaching, while the majority who opposed the change were required to teach some women's history (Harrison, 1994). It is unclear as to whether this change in emphasis resulted in more published historic research on women.

Pamela Benson (2002), a former secondary teacher and teacher educator, explains that, increasingly, contemporary women's stories are being told. She stresses the importance of capturing their experiences and stories on paper. This she believes continues to create an essential further addition to the collection of information about New Zealand women, before they become anonymous women in the future.

2.4 WOMEN IN TEACHING

After World War Two the gendered division of labour changed dramatically. While the governments of both Australia and New Zealand hoped for full employment they in fact found themselves acutely short of labour. The Governments along with other employers turned to the married women to fill this gap. In both Australia and New Zealand, the official proportion of married women in paid employment rose. In New Zealand the numbers rose from 12.9 % in 1956 to 16 % in 1961 (Davies, as cited in Nolan, 2003, p.80), and in Australia the 1966 census showed that the proportion of married women in paid employment had in fact doubled from 13 % in 1956 (Census of the Commonwealth, 1956, 1966, as cited in Nolan, 2003, p.80). During the 1950s and 1960s with a huge shortage of teachers, women filled these roles when their labour was seen as a necessary patriotic service in what was described as a national emergency (Middleton, 1987).

In 1939, the marriage ban allowing married women to teach was lifted despite protest from Education Boards. While this measure was put in place to combat the foreseeable shortage of male teachers due to the war, this was most significant in that the ban was

never reinstated (Nolan, 2003). What was originally an employment measure in place while the ex-servicemen adjusted to being home, quickly became a new way of life. The Women's Teachers' Association was the first to take advantage of the 1960 Government Service Equal Pay Act (Te Ara, 2014). Increasing numbers of married women re-entered the paid workforce and numbers of women in the profession continued to grow (Te Ara, 2014). While it became law in 1960 that women were paid the same as men, it was not until 1972 that all employers were forced to pay women the same as men (Harrison, 1994).

In New Zealand there has been a steady rise in the number of females in secondary teaching since the 1970s. In a study carried out by Harker and Chapman (2006), the number of male secondary school teachers has remained much the same since the early 1980s, however the number of female teachers has increased. In 1994 the female teachers began to exceed that of their male counterparts and this has continued to rise. Statistics gathered in 2012 by the government, state that there are 37,843 females in paid primary and secondary education and only 14,395 males. In rural secondary schools females make up two thirds of the teaching staff, whereas male teachers only account for one third (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Women's careers are often experienced and constructed quite differently to those of men, due to the structure family life (Hargraves, 2005; Sikes, 1985). Cinamon and Rich (2005) found that the occupational identity as a female teacher is part of a complex psychological and social process, looking at the varying degrees of commitment and responsibility for many life roles. As different life stages are occurring, the importance of various roles will likely change as well as a sense of commitment to them.

Re-entering the classroom after having children is one of these stages. Brannen (1989) discusses evidence from a longitudinal study, focusing on women from the labour force in the first three years after motherhood. It appeared more probable that those in the teaching profession would return after having children. Reasons included shorter work hours and longer holidays. Research however indicated they would be unwilling to take on additional responsibilities. Lovejoy and Stone (2012) in their research also identified part time hours and flexibility of schedules as desirable factors when returning to employment after a career break. They discovered these factors created a shift in the participant's career interests, and a large percentage chose to re-train specifically in the area of teaching, having been identified as a career which could support these family needs. Healy (1999) notes in her research on career breaks and commitment in the lifecycle of teaching, the importance of being able to manage time once returning to work. Findings stated at this stage in their lifecycle, controlling time through working fewer hours and being able to contain time spent travelling to and from work were identified as being particularly significant.

Huberman (1989) found in his research on the life cycles of teachers, female teachers were more likely to: choose teaching again if they were to 're run' their lives, have fewer cases of burnout, and described themselves as more serene and self-actualised later in their careers. It did appear however that many women were aware of the potential stress caused by teaching; "I knew that if I made the school the centre of my life, I'd burn out- like all those men around me are doing" (p. 48). The conflict between work and family was explored among 187 Israeli women teachers in a bid to better understand relationships between teachers' professional and family lives (Cinamon & Rich, 2005).

Investigations revealed that work-family conflict among secondary school teachers was significantly higher as compared to junior level school teachers. Pierce and Molloy (1990) found in their research, which studied 750 teachers working in Victoria, Australia, stress within teaching was found to be greater the older the children were which indicated that stress levels would rise teaching in secondary school.

2.5 RURAL SCHOOLS AND THE RURAL COMMUNITY

In 1881 New Zealand was largely a rural country with just under 60 % of the population living in rural areas. By the early 20th century however things began to shift and change and more and more people were populating the urban areas, promoting the growth of new towns and cities. While New Zealand has now been transformed into a highly urbanised society, approximately half of the country's exports are still primary produce (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Statistics New Zealand: An Urban/Rural Profile (2001) states there is no internationally recognised definition of a rural area. The text does however discuss the huge difference between rural communities which are dependent on rural livelihoods and those where a large population works in an urban area but live in a rural area.

The definition of community is similarly wide and varied and means many things to many people. Pretty, Chipuer and Bramston (2003) explain that the word community can convey different meanings such as people inhabiting it in a geographical sense, or groups of people identified by common interests, values, and culture. Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) agree explaining that location itself is not enough to create a sense of place, but

that it develops between people, and people and place. McMillan and Chavis (1986) maintain that the term community has two uses. The first refers to a territorial or geographic unit; the second is relational and describes the quality or character of human relationships (cited in Osterman, 2000). Typically, it has been observed that within rural schools there is a strong sense of community and they are tightly linked to the communities they serve (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995). Rural schools are influenced and reflect more strongly than urban, the cultural and economic circumstances of their communities (Seal & Harmon, 1995). Rural schools also have their own set of community identifiers that make them substantially different from their metropolitan counterparts. While students in rural schools may face challenges not experienced by those in town schools their schools, are set in a community context that values a sense of place and offers unique strategies for helping students achieve in school (Bauch, 2001).

Sherman and Sage (2011) argue that for rural communities during troubled times; education and local schools can become battle grounds on which the fate of the community rests. In amongst change in our rural communities, schools embody community tradition and identity, community viability, and community autonomy (Lyson, as cited in Sherman and Sage, 2011). Budge (2006) agrees explaining many rural communities are in economic distress. Geographic isolation from global markets and weakening rural economies contributes to many social problems that affect rural schools. Using ethnographic and life history research based in a rural town in California, Sherman and Sage (2011) explored the roles of schools, education, and community life, in the wake of economic devastation caused by the timber industry collapse in the

region. Signs of community decline were identified by issues such as lack of parental involvement in school events and falling school enrolments.

The school system appeared to be a personification of the community itself for many, and an embodiment of its successes and failures. Thus even as it showed signs of the community's distress, it continued to be seen as a pivot point around which community was constituted, and often the greatest resource for those in need. (p. 6)

Often in rural areas of New Zealand the school is seen as a central magnet for the community. There are strong perceptions that a school belongs to the children and the community and is a legacy from previous generations, and for some historically, the school was the first community building erected. These schools become the literal and metaphorical focus for community interaction and identity. They can be important informal places where friendship networks begin, and local events shared (Witten, McCreanor, Kearns, & Ramasubramanian, 2001). In a study carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (1994) the importance of the school to the rural community was highlighted. Its ability to provide focal and social roles which are of great significance to rural communities were identified, and the important role in bringing the community together and creating a social fabric. These features are also acknowledged in other areas of the world with many rural teachers having a huge awareness of the significance of their role when many of them provide a large part of young people's entire education (Nelson, 1992).

Research has supported claims that a stronger sense of belonging occurs in rural communities (Looker 2014; Obst, Smith, & Zinkiewicz, 2002). It has however also been

argued that in research conducted looking at the relationships between community attachment in rural and urban communities, in all probability the results are much the same (Goudy, 1990; Theodori & Luloff, 2000).

2.6 TEACHING IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

Both positive and negative factors have been identified through research on teaching in a rural community. In a study carried out in four American secondary schools, with 24 teachers in rural Ohio (McCracken & Miller 1988), it was found that rural communities were largely supportive of teachers in their schools. Most teachers felt accepted in the rural communities studied and students and parents in these areas had a higher regard for the teaching profession, “Teachers indicated that other major advantages to working in rural settings included parental cooperation, a friendly population, good physical and family environments, and a good rapport between teachers and students” (p. 24). The participants were asked to describe any factors that helped them in their ability to be a successful teacher within the school or community. The teachers identified: community support for the school, commitment to education, parental involvement, knowledge of both the students and parents and wider community members.

A somewhat negative aspect faced by rural teachers is that which has been described as ‘fishbowl’ living. This phenomenon has been identified in research on the rural teacher (Blase, 1988; Jenkins, 2007; Miller, Graham, & Paterson, 2006). Miller et al., (2006) explain that the lives of teachers are constantly under scrutiny in their

communities. In their research, a series of interviews were conducted with 18 educators from a selection of rural schools in Australia. They discovered both positive and negative experiences were had by teachers who experienced this 'fishbowl' living. While they had the opportunity to develop great relationships with students, parents, and carers, through the small community, they also explained they felt like they were constantly on show, and had very high expectations placed on them from the community which were almost impossible to achieve.

In 1999 the Ministry of Education conducted research which found that although a lot of effort had been made to compensate schools in isolated and rural areas, they were less than confident that this had been achieved. The research identified the need for tools that better measured the degree of isolation in order to provide appropriate resources. Abel and Swell (1999) believe not enough research has been carried out in rural school compared with that in urban, to establish the causes of stress and burnout among these teachers. They note that although similarities exist, differences between rural and urban schools and teachers are apparent. They assert that the experience of teaching in rural communities should be considered, and adequately addressed.

2.7 SCHOOL - HOME RELATIONSHIP

During the post war period in New Zealand the teaching profession contributed to policy-making at all levels in a broadly based political consensus. This situation dramatically changed throughout the 1980s (Codd, 2005). In 1989 part of the radical public sector reform began after the election of a new Labour Government (1984-1990).

Following recommendations from the 'Picot Report' (Middleton, 1992), which resulted from a taskforce set up to review educational administration in 1988, policy makers transferred responsibility for major educational decisions from government authorities to boards of trustees. The implementation of *Tomorrows Schools* introduced local management of schools by elected boards of trustees (Alcorn, 2011, Middleton, 1992). A wide range of findings came from a longitudinal study carried out by Wylie (NZCER, 2014) on the impact the education reforms had throughout the schools in New Zealand. Partnerships between boards of trustees and the teaching professionals were positive, there was a strong interest in continuing professional development, and in an important development, women made up 52 % of the members of these boards. For the first time women were just as likely as men to chair their board (NZCER, 2014).

In a Ministry of Education funded oral history research project carried out by Openshaw (1991), the importance of oral history interviews was discussed. He stated that they are a vital means of gauging how teachers lived and worked during the early post war years. He notes that this period of time was characterised by a great interest in educational innovation and the widespread faith across New Zealand of the power schools had to transform society. With the introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools*, the invitation for parents to be actively involved and aware of their children's schooling was encouraged. Parents were now encouraged to come into the school and see what was going on (Middleton & May, 1997).

2.8 NCEA

From the late 1980s, pressures within New Zealand to reform its national assessment system eventually led to the introduction of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) in 2002 (Philips, 2003). This included internal (school-based) and external (including examinations) assessment. The focus was on ensuring that more students were able to gain qualifications of relevance to the economy and included policies aimed at increasing the participation and achievement of Māori and Pasifika learners (Philips, 2003).

In 2004 research was carried out in 20 schools across New Zealand to garner information about how the implementation of NCEA was affecting teachers across a range of workload areas (Ingvarson, Kleinhenz, Beavis, Barwick, Carthy, & Wilkinson, 2005). A cross-section of schools were selected to cover a variety of school types. Results showed that in the majority of schools, NCEA implementation was a major workload factor. Teachers generally felt however as they became familiar with the NCEA system, they were managing better, though overall the general consensus was that NCEA curriculum and assessment would entail a permanent increase in workload. It was also discovered that there was a considerable increase across all areas; time, workload, paperwork etc, in rural schools. Findings from the NZCER (New Zealand Council for Educational Research) secondary 2006 and Primary 2007 national surveys, identified that principals and teachers also found assessment workload and NCEA workload were areas of concern. However, the biggest perceived barriers to whole-school change were lack of time and money (Schagen & Hipkins, 2008).

Gender did not appear to influence the workload NCEA brought, except that the balance between work and family life was highlighted as a higher level of dissatisfaction with females (Ingvarson et al., 2005). Hargreaves (2005) notes research on educational change, has identified that: personality, personal development, age, generational identity, attachment, and career stage all factor into the way people react, process and cope.

2.9 EMOTIONALITY IN TEACHING

In order to understand who a person is, is to understand emotion, and, in order to fully understand emotion, we must also understand people. People are their emotions (Denzin, 1984). Denzin describes emotions as self-feelings, and emotionality as the process of being emotional. Teachers' feelings have received little attention in professional writing (Nias, 1996; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Historically emotions have not been seen as a topic worthy of serious academic or professional consideration. Hargreaves (2005) explains that the aspect of emotion can be very difficult to investigate. Cross-culturally the language used to describe emotions differs and emotional experience can be very hard to articulate. However, teachers who are given the opportunity to tell their careers stories help other teachers to understand and interpret their experiences in different and deeper ways. The emotional process of telling your story enables both self-understanding and others to better understand you (Nias, 1996).

Emotional understanding is an intersubjective process requiring that one person enter into the field of experience of another and experience for herself the same or similar experiences experienced by

another. The subjective interpretation of another's emotional experience from one's own standpoint is central to emotional understanding. Shared and shareable emotionality lie at the core of what it means to understand and meaningfully enter into the emotional experiences of another. (Denzin, 1984, p. 137)

Hargreaves (2001) explains that within all occupations recurrent emotional experiences affect a person's identities and relationships in distinctive ways. Every occupation, and its own distinct culture, has different emotional expectations and effects on both workers and who they are working with. Teaching is no different. Hargreaves (1998) describes teaching in four ways. Firstly, as an emotional practice: Teaching triggers the teachers own actions, expressions and feelings. Teaching also triggers the actions, expressions and feelings of students, parents and colleagues. Teacher's emotional practice has the power to inspire or bore students, create intentional positive relationships with parents or alienate them, and, work cohesively with colleagues or be mistrusted. Zembylas (2003) argues that investigations have shown how teachers' emotions can become sites of resistance, and, self-transformation.

Secondly, teaching and learning involves emotional understanding: Emotional understanding helps us recognise what we are seeing, such as fear, humiliation, or pride, and respond accordingly. Denzin (1984) argues that emotional understanding occurs instantaneously. People, such as teachers, read the emotional responses of those around them, and react correspondingly based on their own past emotional experiences.

Thirdly teaching is a form of emotional labour; Hargreaves explains the ways in which teaching involves a vast amount of emotional labour, where teachers are consciously

experiencing the feelings necessary to perform well in the job. There may be situations of disappointment or exhaustion, but in order to give the best to the role, teachers need to not only act excited or motivated to teach, but also need to work themselves up into a state where that is what they are actually feeling and portraying. While the job of teaching can be a negative one, for many teaching is a labour of love. Sutton and Wheatley (2003) discuss the positive emotions teachers experience, they looked at the joy, satisfaction, and pleasure, associated with teaching especially in relation to student progress and success in learning. Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) however argue that teachers engage in emotional labour within their relationships, but often provoke, or hinder their emotions, to suit different situations.

Finally, teacher's emotions are inseparable from their moral purposes and their ability to achieve those purposes. Moral actions and judgments are based on both cognitive and emotional understanding. If teachers feel they have fallen morally short of their own standards they may experience feelings of shame. And, conversely, feel happiness when their purposes are being fulfilled.

In research carried out by Day and Leitch (2001) a group of teachers from England and Northern Ireland were asked to write autobiographical accounts of the ways in which their professional linked to their personal lives. Findings showed the ways in which the professional self in teaching affects, and is affected, by personal history, past, and present, as well as the political and social contexts of teaching. The narratives revealed interaction between the emotional and the cognitive elements of teaching, and in particular the powerful influencing role of the emotion on the cognitive. The authors discussed that in order to bring the best to the teaching role, motivation, commitment and emotional commitment is required. In order to achieve emotional commitment, a

deep knowledge of not only the students, but also oneself is required. They examined the crucial importance of acknowledging and understanding this for those involved in teacher education and professional development, as this would lead to providing opportunities for growth in this area. Sutton and Wheatley (2003) also discuss results from their research which indicated a huge range of emotions frequently shape cognitions such as: the ways in which emotion effect memory; how negative emotion focuses attention; the ways in which emotion affect categorising; thinking and problem solving; and teacher motivation.

Career and life stages are also catalysts for emotional change. In his study carried out with 50 primary and secondary school teachers in Canada, Hargreaves (2005) looked at various aspects of emotionality within education. The teachers were asked if they found their emotional responses had changed over the years and at different stages of their life and career. Results indicated that by mid-career teachers are more resilient to change, have gone through a variety of systems, jobs, and roles, and drew on their life experience to handle their emotional responses. They also spoke about due to becoming parents themselves which led them to have greater appreciation of the intricacies around raising children.

2.10 SUMMARY

This literature review considered eight themes relevant to the study. It highlighted some of the historical context for schooling in New Zealand namely; the history of female teachers, *Tomorrow's Schools*, and NCEA. It described experiences had by the rural teacher both in school and the community. It also highlighted aspects of emotionality in

relation to the teaching role. While this chapter reviewed the lives of rural teachers it also identified the lack of research in this area, specifically research on women teachers' histories.

CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITY PROFILE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces us to the community at the heart of this study - Central Hawkes Bay. It focuses on the history and statistical makeup of the community and Central Hawkes Bay College, the secondary school where the six women worked. Because they were identified as significant to the participants in the study, their cultural and religious communities (St Mary's Anglican Church, St Joseph's Catholic Church, and St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and the Waipawa Music and Dramatic Society) are also described. This chapter provides the reader with a particular local social context against which to read the individual and collective accounts of the rural women teacher participants later in the thesis.

3.2 CENTRAL HAWKES BAY COMMUNITY

The secondary school my interviewees worked at is Central Hawkes Bay College (CHBC). CHBC is situated in Waipukurau, which is located in Central Hawkes Bay (CHB). The earliest occupants in the area were Ngāti Whatumamoā and Ngāti Awa to the North of the Ngaruroro River and Te Aitanga a Whatonga to the South. In November 1851, Donald McLean bought 279,000 acres on behalf of the Crown. This area of Central Hawkes Bay was known as the Waipukurau Block. The two major towns in the district are Waipukurau and Waipawa, Waipawa being one of the first inland Pākehā settlements in New Zealand (1860). Central Hawkes Bay has a number of smaller

townships including Otane, Takapau, Tikokino, Porangahau and Ongaonga; as well as several beach townships including Kairakau, Porerere, Aramoana, Blackhead, and Te Paerahi. As the two towns, Waipukurau and Waipawa progressed, communications with other Hawkes Bay centres increased. By 1876 both telegraph and road services between Napier and Waipawa were completed. Waipukurau thrived during the agricultural boom post World War II and by 1951 the town had five banks. However, with the decline of farming profits in the 1970s, banks, transport companies, and stock firms merged and closed (Central Hawke's Bay District Council, 2016). In the 2000's Waipukurau is still supported by farming and related industries with the top industries in Central Hawkes Bay being agriculture, forestry, and fishing. There are 18 primary schools and two secondary schools in the district that service the wider community of CHB, approximately 12,717 people. Waipukurau is the largest town in Central Hawkes Bay with approximately 4000 people living there. Waipawa, 6km away, has a population of 1923. Waipukurau and Waipawa are given an independent and urban community profile. The surrounding areas that make up Central Hawkes Bay range from Rural area with high urban influence, Rural area with moderate urban influence, and Rural area with low urban influence. (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

3.3 CENTRAL HAWKES BAY COLLEGE

Central Hawkes Bay College (CHBC) first opened in 1959 after Waipawa and Waipukurau District High Schools merged. With an initial roll of 347 co-educational students, it saw its peak in 1984 with 920 students. Currently the roll sits at approximately 500. Since its formation there have been six male Principals; Geoff Sharp, Bob Foster, Jeremy

Ballantyne, Richard Schumacher, Dawid deVilliers, and Lance Christiansen, who currently holds the role. The College motto which is seen on their crest reads 'Achieve with Honour' *To challenge, inspire, and enable the potential of tomorrow, today.* The school values aim to uphold this and are broken down into four themes: Respect - Whakanuia, Integrity - Manatangata, Community - Iwi Kāinga, and Excellence Hiranga (Central Hawke's Bay College, 2016). The College boasts a strong sporting and academic record with past pupils competing in the 2016 Olympics. This year members of the school Kapa Haka group Pukekaihou competed in Ngā Kapa Haka Kura Tuarua o Aotearoa 2016 - Te Matau a Māui, the National Secondary School Kapa Haka competition. The college students are divided into four 'houses' each with the name of past Colonial Governors and Governor Generals of New Zealand; Hobson, Freyberg, Cobham, and Grey. The houses compete against each other in a variety of sporting and cultural activities throughout the year with the most widely recognized and supported by the wider community being Fryer Cup the school's annual interhouse music competition. Margaret Fryer presented a cup in 1956 while she was a student at Waipawa District High. Over the last 60 years this competition has grown into a three-day event culminating in an evening performance with both classical and contemporary music in a large number of vocal and instrumental categories (Parsons, 1999). Over half of the students that attend the college travel by bus each day from the wider Central Hawkes Bay area, some as far as 45km away.

3.4 ST MARY'S ANGLICAN CHURCH

Waipukurau's first St Mary's church was dedicated in 1877. Over time it became no longer big enough to meet the needs of the community so in 1929 it was decided that a new church would be built (Parsons, 1999). The second St Mary's Church opened in 1931 and is still used today. In 2015 the Central Hawkes Bay Parish was created. An amalgamation of the parishes of Waipukurau, Takapau, Waipawa and Porangahau was decided. Each parish retains its unique identity while sharing the wider life of the parish (Central Hawke's Bay Parish, 2016). Due to the 2011 earthquake centred in Christchurch, St Mary's Church building was evaluated in 2014 and was deemed earthquake prone under the revised building standards for public buildings and was therefore closed. The congregation continues to meet in the church hall and plans are underway to get the church building up to the required building code standards (Hawke's Bay Today, 2016). The parish has a number of regular initiatives including a focus on women's ministries and the church choir.

3.5 ST JOSEPH'S CATHOLIC CHURCH

In 1902 the first Catholic Church in Waipukurau was built. By 1926 under a new parish priest the new church and school was opened. In 1982 St Joseph's school became integrated in the State system while still retaining its special Catholic character. Also at this time St Joseph's became part of the new Parish of the Holy Trinity, Central Hawkes Bay. Originally made up of three parishes', St Vincent's - Takapau; St Patrick's - Waipawa; and St Joseph's - Waipukurau, the three parishes amalgamated (Holy Trinity CHB, 2016).

The church is fully involved in the life of St Joseph's Primary School coming together regularly for mass and special events.

3.6 ST ANDREW'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

St Andrew's was built in 1878 and extensively added to in 1955 and further renovations were made in 2003. In more recent years less emphasis has been placed on being Presbyterian, and more weight has been given to providing and encouraging people from all walks of life to be part of a Christian community (Birdsall & Pitt, 2015). In 2016 St Andrew's celebrated its 150th Jubilee. This celebration was enjoyed over a weekend bringing together the past and present St Andrew's community to share the memories and festivities. Over the years St Andrew's has provided a number of regular initiatives including The Alpha Course, Divorce Care, and Mainly Music.

3.7 WAIPAWA MUSICAL & DRAMATIC CLUB

The Waipawa Musical and Dramatic Club, commonly known as M & D, was established in 1898. Their performances have been held in the Central Hawkes Bay Municipal Theatre in Waipawa since 1910 (Waipawa.com, 2016). Over the years they have entertained the community with high quality performances from 'Joseph and his Technicoloured Dream Coat' to 'Sweeny Todd'. A wide range of people throughout the community have been involved in the shows covering all aspects such as; acting, singing, lighting, set construction, orchestral and directing.

3.8 SUMMARY

This chapter has set the scene for the life history interviews of the participants in the research. It looked at the wider region of Central Hawke's Bay focusing on the historical context of the area and the statistical makeup of the community. The history and key areas of Central Hawkes Bay College were then discussed followed by a brief synopsis of three significant churches in the community, and the Waipawa Musical and Dramatic Club. By including these profiles a deeper and greater understanding of the community that helps shape the lives of the six women in the study is ensured.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS OF RESEARCH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to describe the process, approach, and methodology used to conduct this study. I begin by explaining the power of story, leading into my chosen method, life history. Following this, the steps followed to carry out the research are outlined, these being: selecting participants, interview format, analysing data, and finally ethical considerations.

4.2 THE POWER OF STORY

Cole and Knowles (2001) explain life history and narrative research as methods that rely on and depict the storied nature of lives. They are concerned with both the complexity of individuals experiences and the ability to honour the individual. The process of finding my educational research topic began by listening to the personal, individual stories of those around me in my everyday life and work. I felt compelled to listen to and then retell those stories, stories I believed needed to be told. I wanted to explore the narratives of a group of women who were working and living in a rural community and the intersection of their lives and careers within this, personally and professionally. In order to more deeply and fully explore the lives and careers of these women, I chose the method of life history research which seemed to me to offer a means of explaining as well as retelling these stories.

Life history inquiry is about gaining insights into the broader human condition by coming to know and understand the experiences of other humans. It is about understanding a situation, profession, condition, or institution through coming to know how individuals walk, talk, live, and work within that particular context. (Cole & Knowles, 2001, p. 11)

Stories and storytelling which are rooted in oral traditions are the cornerstones of qualitative research (Banks-Wallace, 2002). Life history and narrative are ancient approaches found in history, folklore, psychiatry, medicine, economics, sociology, and anthropology. Sandino and Partington (2013) believe narrative is at the core of life history and in order to grasp the meaning of the historical account, the way in which narratives are created is significant. The use of stories in education help us forge connections, which in turn link us to where we are, where we came from, and where we are going (O'Brien & Schillaci, 2002). Dhunpath (2000) notes the study of narrative is in fact the study of the ways in which humans experience the world. Witherell and Noddings (1991) agree, going further to explain that narrative structure contributes to our understanding of the meaningfulness of everyday life. In telling a story, those who listen, and possibly even the teller, are affected, enabling personal growth and development. While the purpose of telling might be very different from one situation to another, the absolute presence of the story makes this research dramatically different from many other areas (Elbaz, 1991).

Story has in fact become a central focus for how research is conducted in the lives of teachers (Carter, 1993; Witherell & Noddings, 1991). Witherall and Noddings (1991) believe stories are powerful research tools which provide us with a picture of real people

in real situations, struggling with real problems. Often within research, people become faceless and are treated as subjects or samples. Stories help us speculate on what might be changed in a particular social or occupational context and help us to remember that while teaching, learning, and researching, we can sometimes also practically improve the human condition. Mary Kippenberger is a local storyteller and school guidance counsellor. Mary has also been a school teacher and social worker. She explained to me that she uses story on almost a daily basis. While working with young people, often times from broken and difficult situations, she tells their story as she sees it unfolding, she takes them on a journey of possibility and hope. She explained *“Over the years I have had many people come back to me as adults, saying they felt honoured that someone took the trouble to 'see' them, that hearing their potential future story gave them a vision of themselves they had never had before”* (personal communication, December 13, 2016). Connelly and Clandinin (1990) discuss the main claim for using narrative inquiry in educational research is that humans are storytelling organisms, who lead storied lives. By accessing these stories through the women teachers participating in this study, I aimed to give their narratives a platform and allow their voices to come through in the discussion of this thesis. Chase (2008) describes narrative inquiry as empirical material that may be: “Oral or written and may be elicited or heard during fieldwork, an interview, or a naturally occurring conversation” (p.59). She explains that narrative not only describes what has happened, but also expresses thoughts, interpretations and emotions. The narrator’s voice draws our attention not only to the subject, but also the way in which they communicate the narrative, and, the narrative is a joint construction between the narrator, and the listener.

Increasingly the community of research practitioners have been telling stories about teaching and education, rather than simply reporting findings (Carter, 1993; Elbaz, 1991). Carter (1993) believes these stories capture more than any formulae could ever explain and are filled with richness and complexities. Narratives have recently emerged as an important method of analysis among social science research. Several publications, Bruner's *Actual Minds* (1986), Sarbin's *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct* (1986) and Polkinghorne's *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* (1988) signal the appearance and acceptance of narratives within scholarly research (Gudmundsdottir, 1991).

4.3 WHY LIFE HISTORY

The roots of life history can be traced back at least to the 1920s. During that decade anthropologists used life history approaches to describe Native American cultures (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995). Perhaps one of the earliest and most famous life history studies was published in 1927, by Thomas and Znaniecki (1958), *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. This life history study included issues such as: change in social life, attitudes and values, race relations, nationalism and internationalism, class hierarchy and tradition. While Thomas and Znaniecki had some interest in the issue of immigration, the Polish Peasant was selected to be used as an example of the method of research which is life history. Green and Hutching (2004) discuss the capacity life history has to add to our knowledge and understanding of the past. They describe how this method provides considerable insight into the ways individuals and groups of people maintain their sense of identity. Life history has the power to help those in the

present understand more about the constraints of those who lived in the past and what the earlier generations experienced, in particular how individuals negotiate cultural, family, and work life "For most people the most significant relationships and experiences occur within these social groups. Yet without oral history the detailed texture of these everyday engagements and transactions is largely inaccessible " (Green & Hutching 2004, p. 21).

Life history has become a widely used and preferred method when conducting research on teachers' lives (Ball & Goodson, 1985; Goodson, 1994; Middleton, 1996; Sikes & Goodson, 2003). Sikes (2006, unpaginated) states "For those concerned to understand aspects of life as they relate to schools and schooling and education, life history is often a highly appropriate approach. This is because education and schooling are inherently personal and relationship based". The method of life history provides teachers with an opportunity to have a voice of personal testimony rather than the researcher speculating on decisions, choices, and experiences (Goodson, 1994). Within educational research, Ball and Goodson (1985) explain that historically the sympathies of the researchers' lay chiefly with the pupils. They were largely seen as the 'underdogs', and the teachers were seen as the 'villains'. By conducting life history into the lives of teachers we are changing the way we see and understand the lives of our teachers both around the world and here in New Zealand. Goodson (1991) strongly argues the method of life history research in teachers lives, to ensure that the teacher's voice is heard loudly and accurately. The method of life history as a research tool is claimed to permit the researcher to explore experiences in a fuller way: colour, taste, smell and hearing (Belgrave, 2004).

There are, however, some counter-arguments and criticisms surrounding life history research. Hargraves (1996) argues that the life history method is often presented as representing a singular voice which speaks for all teachers. He states that we need to not merely present the voices, but actually *re-present* them in a critical way within in their specific context. He discusses there is no single technique for achieving this but explains that in order to re-present them well, a number and range of voices need to be selected. He acknowledges however, that in doing this, some of the richness and complexity of individual voices will be sacrificed.

There has also been some concern as to the value and significance 'small stories' have received in narrative and life history research, in contrast with 'big stories' (Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Oak, 2013). Big stories involve significant reflection on experiences or events and aim to make sense of the significance of a life lived. In contrast, small stories can often actually be significant moments in time that shape situations, reveal characteristics, and lead to interpretation and meaning. Bamberg (2006) explains over the last 30 years, narrative research has been enriched by describing and exploring peoples' lives through the retelling and analysis of 'big stories'. While he believes there is nothing wrong with big stories he argues that they are not an everyday phenomenon. They require elicitation and for that reason are not likely to be shared spontaneously. Small stories are often told within everyday settings. They are mundane everyday occurrences, usually, but not always heard outside formal interview settings. Sometimes they may not seem particularly interesting, or may not even be recognised as a story therefore be overlooked. However, they can be very revealing in conveying a sense of self and identity (Phoenix & Sparks, 2009). Apparently insignificant

detail included with accounts of major life events may be of great importance in unexpected ways (Ketchel, 2004).

There is historically only small collection of life history research carried out with female teachers in New Zealand (Middleton, 1987; Munro, 1998; Robertson, 2000). Munro (1998) explains that in her choosing life history as a research method she felt it 'recovered' the marginalised voices of women teachers. The focus on the personal allows women to describe, in their own words, their experiences. Research using the method of life History enables the complexities, the similarities, and the differences in the lives of New Zealand Women to emerge (Edwards, 2004).

Numerous studies have shown that there is a gap between what we can discover when we rely on published accounts of some historical event and what we can discover when we ask questions of the on-site participants of those same events. This gap looms larger when we are looking at women's history because of the private nature of so much of women's lives. (Nelson, 1992, p. 168)

Munro (1998) argues that the absence of women's voices within the field of education has led to the distortion of the writing of educational history and it has inhibited our understanding of the complex lives of women teachers. She has struggled to understand that in a profession that is predominantly made up of women, why women's writing and experiences should have been largely excluded from the historical and research records.

4.4 SELECTING PARTICIPANTS

As explained by Goodson and Sikes (2001) research samples are usually quite small when using the method of life history: "Interviewing, transcription and analysis are time consuming and expensive activities. When there is only one researcher, working on a personal, unfunded project, the resources to interview large numbers of people are rarely available" (p. 22). I wanted to keep the study manageable for a thesis of this size, and it was essential to factor in the time available when deciding on a realistic number of participants. My focus was on Central Hawkes Bay College, and I wanted, if possible to interview women who taught a variety of subjects, and I was interested in a range of ages, to gain some comparison. I wanted the participants to have the common experience of teaching at CHBC, be female, and have lived in Central Hawkes Bay, so my sampling was homogeneous (Goodson & Sikes, 2001).

The voices of six women form the basis of this thesis. I began by conducting my first interview with the only teacher who currently still works at CHBC. After this interview I contacted a second teacher who I knew who had worked at the college and the following four teachers came to my attention through the 'snowball' technique. The 'snowball' technique described by Hutching (1993) and Middleton (1996) is a method by which one informant leads to another and is a method of selection which is often used within oral history. Other ways of finding informants discussed by Nelson (1992) include names from school records, attending retired teacher's meetings and suggestions from people in the community who are aware of the research project. The teachers I interviewed taught a diverse range of subject areas; chemistry, music, English, home economics, maths, and commercial/typing. They taught at the college over a 56-year time frame

and had from 13 to over years 30 teaching experience. Two spent their entire teaching career at CHBC while the remaining four have taught at a variety of schools, however the data for this thesis focused primarily on their time teaching at CHBC. All of the women interviewed were Pākehā, so the data gathered has come from a monocultural perspective. This reflects the low proportion of non-Pākehā or Māori teachers within both CHBC and secondary schools across the country. In 2016 a report was released by the Post Primary Teachers Association and Ministry of Education which identified differences in recruitment and retention of Māori and Pasifika teachers. It also acknowledged the significant supply issues for teachers in Māori immersion schools and immersion units (Secondary Teacher Supply Working Group Report, 2016).

4.5 INTERVIEW FORMAT

On conducting my literature review I kept my research questions at the fore;

- What are rural women teachers' experiences and perspectives of teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College?
- How do the lives and careers of woman teachers intersect while living and working in this rural community?

I reviewed literature that would directly relate and link to my questions. Subsequently, from my literature I developed an interview schedule that had two purposes. Firstly, as way to help answer my research questions, and secondly, as a way of addressing any gaps I had seen in the literature and consequently in our current knowledge about my topic (Appendix 3).

Each interview took between 1-2.5 hours excluding general talking before and after the interviews. I did one follow up interview with my initial interviewee after some themes evolved once subsequent interviews had taken place. I gained permission to record all interviews and did so on both a tape recorder and cell phone. Each woman was sent a letter of invitation and a letter of consent outlining the process and a brief description of what the theme and line of questions would cover (Appendix 1 & 2). Before each interview I made phone contact with each interviewee and offered to send them a copy of the questions, with only one interviewee requesting them (Appendix 3). At the end of each interview I asked for any other women they had taught with at CHBC who they thought might like to be involved and this 'snowball' technique proved very effective. My first interview was conducted in April 2016 and my sixth in June 2016. The question of how many qualitative interviews was the subject of an article by Baker, Edwards and Doidge (2012), "We were moved to put the paper together because we have lost count of the number of times students have asked us the question of how many interviews they should do when they are conducting a piece of qualitative empirical research" (p. 3). They asked a number of seasoned and early career researchers the same question, and it was from this that I made my opinions for this study. As my interviews progressed and with the information I was gathering I realised I had 'saturated' my data (Baker, Edwards & Doidge, 2012), in the sense that the women were telling me many of the same things. However, I also realised, as Wolcott explained when interviewed by Baker, et al., (2012), that with small samples, frequencies are not relevant. Rather we should be able to find a range of variations or responses across the dataset. And finally, as explained by Jensen also interviewed by Baker, et al., (2012), it is the care, dignity, and time taken to analyse my interviews, rather than the quantity that will produce an

investigation that honours my feminist perspective. Each woman had the choice of where they wanted to conduct their interview, four being at their homes and two being at my home. At all locations tea or coffee and food was provided.

Throughout the process I discovered the participants fell into two distinct groups in the way that they responded to the questions. I felt that the three younger interviewees somewhat anticipated some of my lines of questioning and interests, then answered accordingly. They all found the topic interesting and asked a great deal of questions once the interview was finished about my process and findings. The three older women responded quite differently. These women were all over the age of 70 so were approaching the latter years of their lives. While they did answer the questions I asked, they each had many more stories to tell. Their interviews were filled with excerpts from their lives, both while teaching, and at other stages. It was a more complicated process to transcribe their interviews, analyse the data and group them into my themes. Some of the stories, while not on topic, were beautiful and rich with history. These moments while not included in my thesis, I will hold with close to me with the knowledge that I have these gifts to treasure. It was a privilege to hear the stories of these amazing women. Goodson and Sikes (2001) discuss while conducting life history interviews one needs to listen beyond what is being said and pick up on clues and hints as to what might be a productive line of inquiry. I believe my skills as a counsellor were beneficial while interviewing. I was able to actively listen and ask questions but also remember points made and go back to them.

4.6 ANALYSING THE INTERVIEW DATA

After each interview I listened to the recording in its entirety. I then transcribed the complete interview. This process took many hours as the interviews were very full of detailed stories. Once transcribed I listened again two more times with the transcription in front of me to alter any mistakes or changes. I used exclamation marks and bold font to highlight intensity of subject matter and voice intonation. Once I was happy with the transcription I printed them out and read through highlighting any subject matter which stood out to me. From the data gathered, I looked for key themes and ideas that emerged across the six women's lives. I grouped these accordingly, and then compared these key themes to those that had arisen from my literature review. Throughout this process, I returned to my initial research questions repeatedly, drawing connections between what I sought to learn about female teachers' lives in rural communities and what I had learnt specifically from these six women's stories. As described by Cole and Knowles (2001) my first readings revealed insights that helped me to sketch a holistic profile of the individual women. The second and third readings were deeper and I began to see patterns and themes emerge. I created a table to track the occurrence of the different themes under headings and then linked them with each interview, noting any significant quotes, stories, similarities and differences (Appendix 4).

At this time, I wrote a vignette on each woman and emailed it to them to check for accuracy and to make sure I had captured the synopsis of this period of their life. Sangster (1994) maintains in order to honour feminist ethical obligations, we must make sure our material is accessible to the women interviewed. She continues: "it is our privilege that allows us to interpret, and it is our responsibility as historians to convey

their insights using our own” (p. 12). I noted any information they gave me and altered accordingly. One participant corrected a date she had remembered incorrectly, and, after reading her vignette, asked to remove certain facts and include others. After collating the data into themes, and choosing the extracts from the interviews that I wished to use, I sent them the excerpts that contained their direct quotes to once again add, alter, or delete if necessary. Goodson and Sikes (2001) discuss the way in which life history work is a collaboration between the researcher and the informant. In returning transcripts, the informant has the opportunity to read the researcher’s interpretations, analysis, and written accounts. One interviewee has compromised vision so I did not send her excerpts, but rather went to visit and spent some time reading them out and going over with her what was written. Some participants added a few minor changes and some were satisfied with the transcripts in their original form. Throughout my writing I have included both short quotes and longer excerpts. When writing up my data I have tried to include as much of the women’s voices as I could. As described by Goodson and Sikes (2001) I wanted to reflect and represent as closely as possible the voices of the six women. The lives of the women interviewed have been written as accurately as possible, but it is impossible to capture the full complexities in the time and space allocated (Robertson, 2000).

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I aimed to conduct my interviews using feminist principles placing myself in the research and being as open as possible. “For researchers it means that the people in the research should be treated as ‘persons, as autonomous beings’ and therefore they need to find

practices which ‘honour the principle of respect for persons’” (Measor & Sikes, 1992, p. 211). As Central Hawkes Bay College is the College where I work, I shared a common bond with the interviewees. They all asked after teachers who still worked there and were all interested in hearing stories about my experiences. Questions are often raised about personal conflicts of interest, such as this, and there is much debate and discussion on this subject (McCulloch, 2008; Sikes & Potts, 2008; Van Heugten, 2004). Middleton (1992, p. 21) however believes women must theorise from their own experience: “Only then can we begin to create a sociology which is authentic for women’s lives. A woman’s ‘direct experience’ becomes ‘the ground of her knowledge’”. Sikes and Potts (2008) discuss this as being an ‘insider’. They describe the advantages of this aspect of oral history such as, gaining access to people and the phenomena they want to investigate, but also acknowledge other aspects which may mean the ‘insider’ comes under scrutiny. McCulloch (2008) agrees, highlighting ‘insider’ ethical issues such as: those who develop a critical interpretation of their educational institution, attempted censorship by educational institutions, and past examples of insider research in schools that lacked integrity. McCulloch also identifies research from the inside out has become increasingly common in recent years in the United Kingdom, Australia, North America and New Zealand. Coffey’s (1999) position is that:

Emotional connectedness to the process and practices of fieldwork to analysis and writing is normal and appropriate. It should be acknowledged, reflected upon and seen as a fundamental feature of well-executed research. Having no emotional connection to the

research endeavour, setting or people is indicative of a poorly executed project. (p. 158-159)

Goodson and Sikes (2001) note the importance when carrying out oral history research of establishing and maintaining a trusting and positive relationship between the interviewer and the informant. They advise sharing one's own experiences and perceptions, and establishing common ground in dress, language, and interests. With each of the participants I shared aspects of my life. Three women I already knew so we shared personal stories of our families and work life. The remaining three women I met for the first time while interviewing. These women were equally interested in my own career journey and what brought our family to Central Hawkes Bay. While sharing one's own experiences, and establishing commonalities and rapport has been noted as being important, some researchers claim that in participating in self-disclosure, ethical safeguards need to be considered. The researcher must be careful not to exploit one's self in order to collect and retrieve data. (Measor & Sikes, 1992).

Matters of confidentiality are difficult to adhere to using the method of life history in a country as small as New Zealand (Hall, 2004). Pseudonyms are often used to protect the identities of participants in social research. Else (1986) however, found that in carrying out a life history series of interviews of women who taught in New Zealand schools the interviewees chose to have their real names used rather than pseudonyms. They felt the if pseudonyms had been used the publication would be 'lost' in the history books and could be overlooked. All the women I interviewed were happy to use their own names and details as explained to them in the letter of invitation (Appendix 2). Hutching (1993) brings to light when making a recording within Oral History the issue of 'ownership' of

the electronic and written transcripts need to be clearly stated from the beginning. It is essential to protect oneself and one's informants from any misunderstandings as to why one is recording, and who owns rights to the materials. On a few occasions during the interviews I would be asked to switch the recorder off or for the story to not be included in the final data. I reassured the women this information would be kept just between us and would not be viewed or heard by anyone else.

This project was discussed with my supervisors and consequently evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk in the Massey University ethics system. I received notification of this 17th November, 2015. (Appendix 5).

4.8 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I discussed the power and importance that story has in our lives. I then explained the concept of life history, my chosen method, and justified why I believe it is a preferred method when looking at the lives of teachers in the kind of study I set out to undertake. I discussed my process in selecting and interviewing my participants, drawing attention to the way in which my research questions and literature review informed my interview schedule. I explained the ways I analysed my data and finally, looked at the ethical considerations I faced, mentioning specifically my position as an 'insider'.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to analyse and report, through a series of semi-structured interviews, the lives and careers of a group of women who had taught in a rural secondary school. This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, a vignette of each participant is included written from her respective interview transcript to provide a context for each woman interviewed.

In part two the findings have been divided, in relation to the foci of the literature, into five sections; 'Arriving in a New Community', 'Rural Life', 'Family Life', 'NCEA', and 'Emotionality'. These sections have also been broken down into sub categories. While this section has been divided to analyse and discuss themes in relation to my literature, it is difficult in reality to separate the data. Some stories were shared chronologically, others thematically. I have presented it in such a way as to follow as much as possible the literature reviewed, and it is also presented in a way which helps to answer the research questions, while still remaining faithful to the six participants.

The third part of the chapter discusses the findings in relation to the relevant literature. I have chosen to combine the findings and discussion because I have organised the data thematically according to the literature reviewed, and data received. This makes sense to me to combine these parts.

5.2 VIGNETTES

5.2.1 NICKY HARRISON

Nicola Harrison first began teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College in 2003 primarily as a music teacher, but also taught some maths and social studies. She has continued to teach a combination of part and full time since 2003 while taking maternity leave. She is married to Gus and they have two children aged nine and six. Gus works locally in Central Hawkes Bay as a real-estate agent and they own a small 2-acre lifestyle block.

Nicky was born in 1979 in Waimate in the South Island of New Zealand and lived there with her parents and younger brother until she was eight when the family moved to Ashburton. Both of Nicky's parents are teachers, so growing up Nicky knew exactly what was involved in teaching. "I had seen people thinking that teaching was 8 till 3 and Mum and Dad are hard workers so I knew what it involved and it actually put me off at first!" Nicky completed all her Secondary School years at Ashburton High and while there completed her Grade 8 flute and piano in Year 11. By year 13 she had completed her ATCL (Associate of Trinity College London) in flute and was a member of the New Zealand Secondary Schools Orchestra. Nicky soon realised after doing her performance flute degree, and being part of the National Youth Orchestra, that she did not want to perform for a living, and in New Zealand there are very few other careers in music. "I wanted to use my music in a lucrative job and not just a hit and miss trying to make ends meet sort of thing....Initially I was sort of put off (teaching) but then I guess because it was familiar, familiar territory it became an obvious choice".

After leaving school Nicky completed a Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree, in Music at Victoria University and continued on to complete her Teaching Diploma. While she really

wanted to stay in Wellington and teach she realised the reality of finding a job there would be difficult. Normally in a cohort there were on average four students doing music, but in her year there were 14, all wanting jobs, the majority in Wellington. She attended an expo which was designed for schools from around New Zealand to promote themselves and the vacancies they had so they could meet prospective teachers. There she met Richard Schumacher, Principal of Central Hawkes Bay College at the time, and he invited her to come and take a look at the school. "I went and had a look at the school and he took me out to the field and looked out over everything (20 acres of farmland) and of course after being brought up in a fairly rural area... I was quite sold on it". Schumacher had also done an expo down in Christchurch where he met Nicky's friend from teachers College who had trained as a maths teacher. "She said I'll come up if you come up, so we decided to do it together".

Nicky is currently the HOD of Music at Central Hawkes Bay College and works almost full time, less two hours, in order to complement her family life.

5.2.2 TONI THOMSEN

Toni Thomsen began teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College in 1996 – 2001 full time, and then part time in 2006-07. She is married to Wayne and along with their two sons live in Takapau on a small lifestyle block. Wayne has done a range of jobs throughout his life but decided to retrain ten years ago and now works locally as a plumber.

Toni was born in 1969 and grew up in a little place called Teatree Point which is about 45 minutes away from Danniverke. She grew up on a farm with her mum, dad, and sister.

Her Father was a farm worker and her Mother was a nurse. Toni initially went to boarding school but when she was about 13 they moved into Dannevirke and she attended Dannevirke High School. After completing secondary school Toni moved to Palmerston North and went to Massey University where she gained her Bachelor of Arts degree. After working for a while she ran her own business in consultancy, writing CV's, and interview training. She soon realised the work she was doing was in fact teaching so decided in 1995 to go back to Massey and get her teaching diploma. She also gained her Post Graduate Diploma in Business Studies. It was then that she met her future husband, who was living in Central Hawkes Bay, and got engaged. While completing her teacher training Toni was posted to Central Hawkes Bay College as her base school. During this time she completed three teaching practicums at CHBC so was quite familiar with the school. In 1996 Toni got married and moved to Central Hawkes Bay after gaining a job at CHBC. During her time teaching at CHBC Toni while primarily teaching English, also taught Social Studies and Drama.

Toni took time off while having children and worked both part and full time at CHBC and Danniverke High school. During this time, she also taught alternative education and private contracts so has continued to teach, even if not in a formal education setting, for 20 years. Toni currently teaches part time at Te Aute Māori Boys College, the only other Secondary school located in Central Hawkes Bay. Part time teaching is a personal choice in order to make time for her work-homelife balance.

5.2.3 TESS TOBIN

Tess Tobin began teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College in 1990 and taught there until 1997. Tess and her partner Paddy live and run the Waipawa Holiday Park and have one daughter. Paddy also works locally in Central Hawkes Bay as a mechanic. Tess currently works at Woodford House and is HOD of Music.

Tess, born in 1963, grew up in Waipukurau on a farm and was number five of seven children. Her Father was a farmer and her Mother a dental nurse. Tess was brought up in a very close knit, beautiful family, and Christian faith had a huge impact and influence on their family life where they attended St Joseph's Catholic Church. When Tess was 13 she was fortunate enough to be given piano lessons as a birthday present and had a fabulous music teacher who fast tracked her through the grades, resulting in her gaining grade 8 piano by the time she had finished school. Tess went to Central Hawkes Bay College and wanted to do subjects which were not offered. She chose art history and the classics and did three out of her five subjects by correspondence which was a huge struggle. "So I finished my schooling and hated it. So when Mum suggested I went teaching I went no! and then I sat. You know how a parent plants a seed, so I sat for a week or two and I thought well actually I can change things. I hated school so maybe I should go in and change attitudes that love school. So I said righto I'll go to teachers College".

Tess went to Teachers College in Palmerston North and gained her Bachelor of Education in Music and Teaching. Her first job was teaching 5 yr olds at Orewa Primary. She then moved to Australia for four years and taught at a range of schools. It was there that she first taught music at a secondary school, "I also stepped into the secondary school

teaching at Woodridge High, and that's when I suddenly thought this is where I want to be! You know just focusing on music. I mean I had the qualifications to teach but I never actually had been given the opportunity in my first four or five years of teaching to actually step into the secondary system, and I haven't looked back".

Tess returned to New Zealand back to Waipukurau to help her Mother who was then a widow and relieved in primary schools for two or three terms until she gained a job teaching music at Central Hawkes Bay College.

5.2.4 KATH FLETCHER

Kath Fletcher began teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College in 1974 and taught there for 27 years until she retired in 2001. Kath is married to David, who was also a teacher at CHBC, and they have two children and seven grandchildren. As well as Kath's teaching qualifications she is also a Fellow of the New Zealand Institute of Chemistry.

Kath was born in 1943 and she and her older sister grew up in Dunedin in the South Island. Her Father was a tent maker and her Mother worked in an office. Both of her parents grew up in the depression era so they were fortunate to get to secondary school but neither had any chance at a tertiary education, however, they were determined that their girls would get the maximum.

At the end of her five years at Otago Girls High Kath went to Otago University to study Science. "Having no guidance and careers stuff when I was at school I brought myself the university calendar and looked through and thought I would do that. So I started out in a degree in honours in maths and after a couple of years I realised I should have done

honours in chemistry". She finished with a double degree in both maths and chemistry and went to Teachers College in Christchurch. At that stage Kath chose to become a teacher because she had no idea what else there was. "In my teaching I made sure that every student knew what the options were. If they were science motivated, I knew they could do all sorts of jobs....and I just made sure that every student I came across knew about other things".

While at teacher's college Kath met her future husband and also gained her ATCL (Associate of Trinity College London) on the organ. At the end of that year Kath and David became engaged and she got her first teaching job at Marlborough Girls College and Dave got a job at Marlborough Boys. Kath's Mother, now a widow, had moved to Blenheim so Kath went home for a year and they married at the end of 1965. Kath taught chemistry, science, and maths, for two years until they started a family of their own. They then moved to Waimate for a year until Dave got a position of responsibility at Central Hawkes Bay College and they made the move to the North Island.

When her children were five and six Kath was offered a part time job at Central Hawkes Bay College teaching maths for a year. She then got a permanent position the following year teaching full time and remained at the CHBC for the next 26 years. In 1989 she spent a year lecturing, teaching and writing resources for Massey University on a fellowship. During this time she also attended two International Chemical Education conferences in Canada. Over her time at the college Kath became the HOD of Chemistry, the assistant examiner for bursary chemistry and a marker for school certificate science. She was in charge of Level 1 Chemistry when it was first brought in for NCEA and she became a regional moderator for all levels. In 1997 Kath was awarded the National

Excellence in Teaching Award in New Zealand. Kath retired in 2001 and now enjoys art, her grandchildren, playing and teaching the organ, conducting the CHB Concert Choir, and her involvement with St Marys Anglican Church.

5.2.5 SHIRLEY STUBBS

Shirley Stubbs first began teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College in 1963 for a term while training and was appointed in 1964 teaching Home Science. She taught for two years' full time then after having children returned in 1980 until she retired in 2000. Shirley is married to Ray and they still live on their sheep and beef farm in Takapau, however will soon be making the move into town. They have two children and one granddaughter. Shirley grows and sells peonies which are somewhat of a local gem.

Shirley was born in 1943 and grew up in Waipukurau. Shirley's Father was a county engineer and they spent a lot of time touring the countryside learning about roading. The eldest of six children Shirley lived across the bridge towards Waipawa in a big old two storied house that had been built by Aunt Daisy, right next to the river that they enjoyed playing in all their lives. Shirley had 5 sisters and one brother and was 15 when her youngest sibling was born so was like a second mum. Shirley attended The District High school, as it was known at the time, which in time merged with Waipawa High School and became Central Hawkes Bay College.

Shirley decided to train as a teacher after taking her Mothers advice "Like all good oldest daughters she does what she's told. Mum and Dad had gone to Dunedin to a roading conference...Mum went through Studholme, the home science school. So she came back

and said 'Shirl you'll love that' and I said 'oh I'd like that!'. She went and studied home economics for two years in 1961-62 and was given two teaching practicums at CHBC as well as Napier Intermediate. The following year Shirley got a job at Central Hawkes Bay College teaching Home Economics.

In 1966 Shirley married Ray and left teaching to move to Ray's family farm in Takapau and start a family of her own. In 1980 once her children were older, Shirley returned to CHBC where she enjoyed teaching in the home economics department until her retirement in 2000.

5.2.6 JEANNETTE WHITE

Jeannette White came from England to teach at Central Hawkes Bay College in 1960. She taught both full and part time at CHBC for 20 years. She was married to Bill, who passed away in 1980 and has two children and four grandchildren.

Jeannette was born in 1928 in Hastings, England. The elder of two children Jeannette grew up during the war. When the depression hit Jeannette's father lost his job so moved to London to find work. After sometime he got a job as a furniture salesman and the family moved to London to be together. Despite the war and the financial situation Jeannette was fortunate enough to receive a scholarship which enabled her to attend grammar school.

Before turning 15 Jeannette left school and got a job at the Barclays Bank Foreign Exchange, hoping it might lead to work in languages as she was very good at French. As well as French she was passionate about music and gained her ARCM in piano (Associate

of the Royal College of Music London). Jeannette trained in both primary and secondary at a teacher's college just outside of London which was very forward thinking. In order to attend you had to have a qualification in music, art, or drama. She gained her teaching certificate with a speciality in music.

Jeannette preferred teaching primary aged children but seized an opportunity to take a full year's study in religious education, and this qualified her to teach this subject in schools. She then made the decision she wanted to travel around the world before she looked after her family. She originally applied to teach in Tasmania, Australia, but they lost her papers unbeknown to her. Jeannette surprisingly received a letter from New Zealand House inviting her to an interview. Without her knowledge a New Zealander living in England had given her name in at New Zealand House because there was a shortage of teachers in New Zealand. Recruitment was by interview which she attended. Two letters arrived in the same post, one from Tasmania apologising for losing her papers, and one from New Zealand offering her a job in a town she couldn't pronounce, teaching subjects she hadn't planned on teaching (music and geography). She chose New Zealand and made the move across the other side of the world to Waipukurau.

Jeannette taught a range of subjects while at CHBC but primarily was the commercial teacher, teaching typing. She met and married a fellow Englishman Bill and taught full time right up until having her first child, Mary, in 1966. After this time, she taught a variety of part time subjects, primarily typing every Wednesday night for 20 years before retiring in 1980.

Over the years Jeannette has been heavily involved in the life of St Andrews Presbyterian Church doing lay assistance for nine years and playing the organ and still is a huge part of the St Andrews community.

5.3 ARRIVING IN A NEW COMMUNITY

This section looks at initial arrival into a new rural community, those teachers who are returning to their original home town, and the support they received from both the school and wider community as they adjusted to their new lives and careers.

5.3.1 FIRST ARRIVAL

Arrival into a new community is a huge time of change. Four out of the six women interviewed were new to Central Hawkes Bay however their experiences are reflected in each other's. Yarrow, Ballantyne, Hansford, Herschell and Millwater (1999) revealed teachers in rural and remote schools felt that as well as learning about the new community they have moved to, it took some time to be accepted as part of that community. Evidence also suggests that many rural communities are often closed off to newcomers, treating them as outsiders (McIntosh, 1989, p. 28, as cited in Yarrow et al., 1999).

A year after arriving, Nicky met her future Husband, who was from a local CHB family. She got involved in the Waipawa Music and Dramatic Society (M&D) and was introduced

to Gus. She explained that through Gus she met a wide range of people but it took some time to feel part of the community.

"I felt very much like they weren't my friends, and I still don't feel like... it's not until I've had kids, and other people had kids, and our families have become associated that I feel I actually know that I have formed friends with them not that I'm just Gus's wife. I guess I didn't find it hard, but it was a bit awkward, but because Gus is such a strong character I'm kind of lucky I just was his side kick, but I didn't feel like I could call any of his friends or their partners my friends, you have to sort of earn that right and everyone else is so stuck here".

"Do you feel like you have to earn your right to be accepted into the community if you're not a local?" *"Yip and I had done that at M&D. I was really welcomed there because no one could play the piano and they were just always needing me and they were always thankful".*

Toni having also married a local CHB man found connections a way to become 'accepted' into the community. She had grown up just 40 minutes down the road in Dannevirke however her experiences of the two small towns were quite different;

"Central Hawkes Bay is very... my impression is that it's quite conservative, and because I was marrying a local, they were quite welcoming. I found once the people knew who I was married to it was ok, it always threw me because Dannevirke is not like that. We always laugh about the fact that Dannevirke, you cannot be classy about coming from Dannevirke, it just is what it is, whereas central was quite

snobby but because I'd married a 'Thomsen' it was ok, it was quite weird".

Appleton (1998) in his research with beginning teachers in rural communities discovered those who identify in some way with the local community, perhaps because they marry into the community, tend to stay and see benefits in living there. Those who do not discover an aspect of their personal identity within their community, do see themselves as isolated.

Kath first arrived in the area as her husband had gained a teaching job at Central Hawkes Bay College. She was a stay at home Mother looking after her two small children and settling into this new rural community also came with its set of challenges. They had moved up from the South Island so it was a huge adjustment. She found that in the first few years arriving it was quite hard to break in and make friends, *"I found over the first few years, that once people found out you were a teacher, they didn't expect you to stay long in the district"*. People had the assumption that you would just do your time and move on. Cornish (2015) explains in her research due to the high turnover of rural teachers, often the community and parents are what she describes as 'aloof' to new teachers, expecting them to move on in a short space of time. Kath described the difficulty in those early years to find her place of belonging. Jeannette also had a huge adjustment arriving the furthest afield coming from London to Waipukurau. Her initial arrival to New Zealand was huge culture shock. She arrived in Wellington and caught a train up to Waipukurau. *"So I got on the train, and I thought I'll be there in one hour. I mean in Britain you're on a train that goes brrr and you're there! 5 hours later I arrived in Waipukurau!"* On the way up she saw so many sheep *"So I gained the impression that New Zealand was full of sheep not people"*. Getting off the train in the middle of

Waipukurau town was also a shock. She looked down the main street and saw all the verandas and thought she had stepped back in time to the Midwest of America. The college had never had a teacher from overseas so Jeannette blazed a trail. She was the first person the home economics department had ever prepared a meal for as part of their cooking course.

Both Shirley and Jeannette spoke of the unsettledness of the college during the 1960s. Jeannette explained she arrived in 1960 and it was a time of real change and new beginnings for the college. Due to the increasing population at the time, Waipawa District High and Waipukurau District High had merged in 1959, and it took some years for the physical buildings to cater for the numbers attending (Central Hawke's Bay College, 2016). When Shirley returned to teach after taking time off while having children, she found the school in a much better position. *"They were starting to get together better. The school was getting older and more organised, it wasn't series of portable rooms all around the place. We had six along the bank at one stage. Physically the school was in a better place when I came back. The gym was up and the hall was up and all those sorts of (things), it was starting to get there"*.

5.3.2 RETURNING HOME

Both Shirley and Tess had grown up and gone to Central Hawkes Bay College however their experiences returning to teach at the secondary school they had attended were quite different. For Shirley the experience was quite positive. She enjoyed being back and felt accepted and supported by the staff, her main issues teaching at the school came closer to home;

“You have been away for a couple of years, you’ve grown up, you’ve got your qualifications and then you come back to Central Hawkes Bay College, what was that like for you arriving back and being now an adult? What was the reception like?” *“They were all lovely. The staff were really excellent. I only had one problem that was my kid sister, but she's an absolute queen, “look at me, aren't I gorgeous, aren't I good”.*

She'd come to some of my cooking classes and she would be there and then all her friends would watch. And she would needle me and needle me till I lost my cool you see!”.

“Being the eldest girl I remember the senior mistress once came to me and said “can you talk to your sister and tell her not to smoke at school” And I thought oh God! I chickened on that, I said “Mum Mrs Ellison’s told me that Heather’s been smoking” so she could tell her off not me”.

Tess however had a quite different experience from Shirley returning to her old high school.

“You have been overseas and suddenly you came back, you have grown up you have been away from home for 11 years, a decade, so you are a different person, you arrive back what was it like? What was your reception from the locals from the people at school, how did they take you, how was that returning back?” *“If you can find the 1990 (school) magazine I'm quoted as saying the staff needs a bomb put under it, because I got so sick of the staff going, “So are you any*

different from when I taught you?” So I had to really really prove myself, and there was that awful moment of trying to validate why I am back because that was the question, “What are you doing back here? What are you doing back here? What are you doing back here?” and I love Central Hawkes Bay, and I love my family, and I love my ties here, but it’s a little bit like the moon tide it just pulls you back”.

*“But it was an interesting journey because the people that were teaching with me talked about their children and how they had firms in Wellington or overseas and what not, and they sort of created a picture of great success. And I sort of felt you know **I’m** successful, but I’m not **feeling** successful and if I had gone into any other school in New Zealand I wouldn’t have had that feeling, it was just because I knew them, and they were family friends or acquaintances, so it took a lot to prove myself. That’s why I went in with hammer and tongs. I did feel like I had to prove myself, I had to feel like I wasn’t the student anymore, because I wasn’t the student”.*

5.3.3 SUPPORT ON FIRST ARRIVAL

In those first couple of years all six of the women discussed how much they valued the support of the other staff, and how much fun they had, often flatting together. Nicky went into a school house with another fellow first year teacher. She explained that she had never known any other year where there were so many beginning teachers all starting in the same year. It was very social and they supported each other both in school and out. Every Friday night they went to the local pub for drinks and socialised together,

but she noted, it was very difficult to break into the community outside of school *“Everyone I knew was just school. It was a really good support network, but I imagine if I hadn't been at school, it might not have been”*. Jeannette also flatted with teachers and found her main support network with her colleagues. She had grown up with a Mother who was quite a perfectionist so had a few skills lacking when it came to cooking. One of the things Jeannette remembers is the fabulous meals they all enjoyed together in the flat. Each flatmate was an incredible cook so she relished the time spent together eating and cooking. Kath explained her main support network was also the college staff. They lived in a school house with their two small children and there were four other high school teacher’s families living in the same street. There were a lot of young staff at that time and there would always be a party or a BBQ to go to.

Tess and Toni both talked about the ‘dream team’ a group of young staff who all looked out for each other and socialised together;

“The new staff members, who were from out of town and really were like possums in the dark, they had their eyes wide open, they were the ones I hooked into. Because they were new, they were fresh, they were non-judgmental. They didn't have a past or a comment so I hung with them and collegially developed really good relationships. We just moved forward as a force basically of 5 of us. We called ourselves the dream team. They were not originally locals we still keep in touch, we’re really tight, we’re really good friends and we all left in different stages, and I just I didn't find my collegial balance from the people who knew me, it just had to be the people who didn't know me, because I didn't have to prove myself”. Tess

“And coming in as a new person we very quickly grouped with the other new teachers. There was a group of us and especially girls, and we called ourselves the dream team. And we were just known as the youngies, and so we could get away with things. It was really fun, it was in the days when teaching was kind of fun, and you weren't worried about all the other things. So it was good and that was a real support group for all of us, that group of youngies, and that was across departments”. Toni

Anderson (2010) discusses the importance of teachers needing to have their needs met outside of school as well as in. Supportive friends and family, belonging to sports teams, church groups, book clubs, and other social networks are ways to create that sense of belonging and balance. Each interviewee discussed the importance of these things in their lives to help them create that sense of belonging and find their fit in the community. Toni's husband also worked at the college as the caretaker so any activities they did revolved around teachers from the school *“I played netball briefly for a sporting club, but no school was my life, in that we met and socialised with the teachers”*. Jeannette and a fellow teacher spent the school holidays travelling around New Zealand tramping and discovering Lake Waikaremoana, Ruapehu, Tongariro, Taranaki, and travelling around the South Island, finishing off with tramping the Milford Track and a trip to Stewart Island. She also became very involved in the life of St Andrews Presbyterian Church, lay preaching for a time. Kath and her family while originally Methodist eventually settled at St Marys Anglican church and it became a huge part of her life. She joined the choir and sang in the evenings and is still attending today *“from about 1971 I was playing the organ at St Marys”*. Pretty et al., (2003) discuss that

research shows higher levels of attachment and identity is found within people who have resided in a community for a longer period of time. They also note this may be related to the extent to which the individuals are involved in the wider community. As well as church involvement, other community groups played a huge part in creating that sense of belonging for the women in this study. Nicky found that belonging in the local M&D group *“it was quite nice to meet other people in the community who in turn made you get to know other people”*. Tess also found her place with church and theatre groups;

“I was M&D, I was little theatre, I was church (St Josephs, Catholic) I did the choir music and I belonged to a choir. They were absolutely important and how I fitted them in I don't know, but I did, and I did show back on back on back”.

For Shirley her time out of school was spent with her family. As she was originally from Waipukurau and from a large family they spent a lot of time together;

“When I was in Waipukurau I was really family involved. I moved back home. Dad was really ill and he was one of the first people to get a heart valve transplant and he had a pacemaker for years. So I ran the house and did quite a lot when they were in Auckland doing all the medical bits and pieces. I looked after the younger ones”.

“And then when I was married and I came out here (Takapau). My sister in law was on the farm and she was really helpful and the district were, but it was still very rural. We shared a car between two families, even when the children need to go to Plunket we had to get the appointments together so we could get there. It was just that really, so

that I didn't go out very much. I went into an old house that had no garden and I really loved all that, I really worked my heart out and did the house up”.

5.4 RURAL LIFE

This section looks at a wide range of factors concern rurality in teaching. Sense of belonging and the private public nature of teaching in a rural community is discussed. The impact of rural living and career restrictions due to this are looked at concluding with the positive aspects of rural life.

5.4.1 SENSE OF BELONGING IN A RUAL COMMUNITY

For the four newcomers to Central Hawkes Bay it did take some time to feel that sense of belonging in the community. However, being a teacher in the community added something significant. Tess grew up in Central Hawkes bay but still found a unique sense of belonging after returning due to her position;

“When I was teaching full-time at Central I honestly felt like the queen walking down the street. You would walk two metres and talk to someone else and walk another two metres and talk. To go to the supermarket that would take three hours, and it's beautiful. They put you up on a pedestal and they are just delighted to see you and they don't expect you to talk about the children, they are just a genuinely pleased to see you. My own daughter left Wellington because she said

she hated walking through the street and not being known. No one ever said hello to her and she couldn't handle that having been brought up next to me, and her expectation of life is that you weren't ignored. Yes, so there is total sense of belonging, absolutely".

Nicky also found a huge sense of belonging partly due to her role as the music teacher *"In our community, in a rural community we are certainly looked up to".* In social situations she would be introduced as the music teacher and the ensuing *"oh you must know such and such"* would follow. She also explained her husband uses it too *"Gus uses it, he uses it all the time. Oh my wife's the music teacher (laughs)".* Nicky discovered that once she had children of her own something changed and she felt like she belonged. If asked now where she came from, even though she grew up in the South Island, she would reply Central Hawkes Bay. Nicky questioned whether perhaps she was taken such good care of by the wider community was because she was a woman *"I feel loved, I feel valued, and I think that perhaps being a woman your sort of more vulnerable so people take you in more and that's why I've always felt like I belonged here".* She continued on to explain *"I've always felt nurtured and I don't think they would do that the same for... maybe a young male. But you know women sort of have that vulnerability that people want to protect and look after".*

Toni also found a sense of belonging with the school because she identified herself as a teacher. However, it took her a little longer to come to grips with the fact that she 'belonged' in the community simply because of the family she had married into. She noted people were really welcoming and friendly once they knew who you were *"That was a bit of a shock for me because I never considered myself to be identified by who I*

was related to, so that was a bit of a surprise for me". Where Toni grew up they had no family around so it was not something she was used to "My husband's family is related to everyone in Central Hawkes Bay so it took a little bit of coming to get used to that". Now however she feels a complete sense of belonging and loves that her own children also have that deep sense of belonging;

"I like to walk down the main street and know people, I like to go to community events and see people that I know, and I know that my children are very rooted in this area now, and very connected to this space, and I feel really connected to this space. We've just been overseas and I've always been very restless about wanting to leave Central Hawkes Bay, simply because I like to go new places and look at new things. And I came back from going around the world and realised that this was my place. I don't consider Dannevirke my home, it's a place where I had education but it's not my home. Central's my home now".

As discussed in section 2.5, Rural Schools and the Rural Community, research has indicated a stronger sense of belonging within rural communities (Looker, 2014; Obst et al., 2002). Kath explained that while it did take some time to feel a sense of belonging there was still plenty to be involved in despite living in a small town. She and her husband have been involved in Lions, bowls, squash, golf, the local art club, and St Mary's Church, *"I suppose I felt respected, but I never thought about it. You don't do it for that. I mean I've played the organ at St Mary's for 44 years but you don't expect any kudos for it, you do it because you want to"*.

5.4.2 PRIVATE PUBLIC NATURE OF TEACHING IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

Each of the women spoke about the way in which they were observed, and judged, while teaching at CHBC. All agreed the observations, opinions, and judgements, came due to being in the role of the teacher, and the fact that they were living in a small community where knowledge and opinions of others were freely given. Jeannette and her fiancé Bill made friends with the local greengrocer. During the busy Christmas season they would help him in his shop serving and weighing the fruit and vegetables. This horrified some of the locals and they were only too happy to explain to Jeannette they didn't approve. Shirley remembered that when she first started teaching in 1964 she had a friend she had trained with who worked in Danniverke. She would often go to Danniverke to visit and go out in town on the weekends *"I felt like I could do what I liked without everybody saying, we saw you at such and such"*. Both Nicky and Tess noted that often times when they were out at the local pub there would be students out as well. Nicky explained that everyone knew your business *"I was just lucky that my business there was nothing to hide. But I used to get hassled by one of them for only ever drinking orange juice... "what are you drinking Miss? oh only orange juice""*.

The strong opinions and perceptions people had of teachers was discussed by each of the women. Kath expressed her frustration about everyone having an opinion on teaching explaining *"There's an awful lot of people anywhere who think they know everything about education and they will criticise teachers but they would never criticise the dentist or the doctor, the other professionals, they wouldn't tell the lawyer how to do their job"*. Tess agreed explaining while teaching at CHBC she was constantly aware of eyes watching and was often pulled up by members of the public for being out at the

pub during the weekend. She explained that while the profession does come with aspects of intrusion, she felt it was living in a small rural town which exacerbated things and described it like living in a 'fishbowl'. As discussed in section 2.6, Teaching in Rural Communities, the constant scrutiny felt by teachers in small communities can produce feelings of judgement, unrealistic expectations, and intrusion. Tess explained one memory she had;

*"You know I can remember taking a mental health day. 365 days a year you take one day off because you've have had enough, and you choose to do peace drawing in your garden instead of lying on your bed and reading magazines, and it gets back to your principal. You know there are eyes everywhere, it's really quite frightening so I've never taken a mental health day again (laughs)". **"So you feel like that wouldn't really be a case in the city?"** "Absolutely it's a small town problem. Like I go out regularly up in the Bay (Napier/Hastings) and nobody questions that. In fact, they say come and join us at the table, so there's not that, what are you doing here? Shouldn't you be home marking our child's work, and saying my prayers. So no, it's definitely a small town problem".*

Nicky, aware of the observations and judgements teachers from the college were subject to, felt a sense of unease in her early years. When she first arrived in Waipukurau her boyfriend at the time was a New Zealander but of Chinese decent;

"I was actually embarrassed when I brought him here one time, it's terrible but that's because I realised something was going wrong, I

thought why am I not proud? But I was actually almost a bit...I think I was worried because I was an outsider and I was bringing an even more of an outsider that people... that's why I felt uncomfortable. "So if you were working in a city that perhaps had a range of cultures?" No issues, Wellington no issues, but here I was like, "Oh how are people going to deal with this? What are they going to say about that?". So I did feel worried about what people would think out in the open".

5.4.3 THE COMMUNITY AND THE RURAL SCHOOL

When asked about the ways in which the community and school are brought together Jeannette, Shirley and Kath all remembered the night classes that were held at the college for over twenty years. This provided not only a resource for the community, but also brought people together from across the wider community of Central Hawkes Bay. Every woman interviewed spoke of Fryer Cup, the annual music competition and the way this brought back many of the old pupils and principals to enjoy together. Nicky explained *"It's the events like Fryer Cup. It's really interesting because it brings people back from years and years, even if they don't have kids at school because they did it, they know that it happens, everyone's got a vibe about things that they know, and it is part of the community"*.

Shirley, now a grandmother, explained what she describes as the physical importance of the college. All the primary schools play netball on the courts, often the rugby and soccer fields are used and the hall for the primary school gymnastic competitions. She stated she spends a lot of time on school grounds for various events supporting her

primary school aged granddaughter *"I'm a Granny now so I have to be doing things like that"*.

Toni believes it is the work of the school and the community together that has had the greatest impact, *"I feel like the school and the community work together to produce quite stunning young men and women. And where the school falls short, in that they may not be able to provide something, the community can. And that's why the students that leave Central are such stunning young community people"*.

Both Nicky and Tess felt that the community and school are only brought together for the group of people whose children attend(ed) CHBC. Tess explains, *"I think Central Hawkes Bay is a very transient population, so it's really difficult to have that tradition. But there is a percentage of parents or the community that are diehards, that have been here for a while, so yes they see that tradition"*. She believes along with the college the churches also provide a focal point and have the ability to connect the community.

Tess discussed the transient population of Central Hawkes Bay, and noted this sometimes prevented a strong sense of community forming *"Because we rely on the works, and other places, so when they run out of jobs there they move, so therefore the family moves, the parent and the child that comes through don't have that rich history"*.

Kath when asked about the connection between the school and the community agreed it exists however also feels it is somewhat lacking;

"Yes but I wish it was even better. Because there are still the people out there who went to boarding school. When you talk to them they didn't enjoy it, but they still send their kids there. They have this idea that it's

a better education. I think probably because they think they are rubbing shoulders with better people. But if they added up how much it cost them and also how much it cost them in not knowing their children, I think they should be thinking harder about it”.

Nicky also felt the gap in the community of the students that leave the area to attend boarding school. Due to the rurality of Central Hawkes Bay, among other reasons, there are a large number of students who attend boarding school. There are currently ten boarding schools, which cover a range of specialities, such as Catholic education and two which specialise in a strong Māori character, in the wider Hawkes Bay region.

5.4.4 IMPACT OF RURAL LIVING

Each interviewee said they enjoyed the rural aspect of living in Central Hawkes Bay and while there were definite disadvantages to living in a small town, the positives outweighed the negatives. When Toni first started working at CHBC her husband was working on a dairy farm. While she had no roles or responsibilities on the farm herself, the rural aspect of life had its challenges, *“The one thing I did have to get used to was that my husband was a dairy farmer at the time, and he was getting up at four in the morning, and I was working quite late at night, so his getting up early woke me and my going to bed late woke him! So I remember us being quite tired. The dairy farming did have an impact on my life”.*

Jeannette perhaps noticed the rurality the most having moved from London. She described Waipukurau as a very little place and missed aspects of her life in Britain, *“As I looked down the street my first impression of Waipukurau was that it was so small I*

wouldn't survive, and I wondered why there were not horses attached to the veranda posts!". Tess and Shirley spoke of the way in which their own homes and hobbies came to the fore due to the rurality and the impact rural living had on their lives. Both of them expressed the importance their household and gardens had in their lives. Tess explained *"As a young person being away from home, I loved the city life, I loved it, I night clubbed, very rarely ate at home, and it was fantastic, and I had such a good time"*. Once she moved back to Central Hawkes Bay, things had to be considered. She couldn't just pop out for dinner, or to visit a friend, everything had to be thought out. Living in Central Hawkes Bay means you might be 45km away from the centre of Waipukurau, and in some case 100km to Hastings.

As discussed earlier in section 2.5, Rural School and the Rural Community, the economic distress faced by rural communities has an impact on both the community and schools in the area. Central Hawkes Bay has experienced its own share of economic devastation resulting in a declining roll at Central Hawkes Bay College. In an article written in Hawkes Bay Today, June 18th 2011, it stated that more than 300 jobs had been lost in Central Hawkes Bay due to the closure of Waipukurau Ovation Meat Works. "In the short-term, locals will suffer. Real estate will have less demand. Unemployment will rise. Morale in the community will fall". Mayor at the time Peter Butler estimated the lost wages will be \$7.5 million less in the community than last year (Hawke's Bay Today, 2011). In a report carried out by Taylor Baines (2012) based on the Ruataniwha Water Storage Project, the number of pupils enrolled at schools in Central Hawke's Bay declined 18 per cent from 2,549 to 2,088 between 2002 and 2011. Toni discussed the impact this has had on the college. She explained that while she was teaching at the college the roll was

between 600 and 700. Due to the statistics of babies being born, the college was aware that in 2014 the college role would be at its lowest, *“I think they didn’t really count on the fact that people would move and there wouldn’t be the number of jobs that there used to be. We’ve been hit by a succession of things and closing here, I mean Ovation going and then Watties going”*.

5.4.5 CAREER RESTRICTIONS DUE TO RURALITY

Difficulty in recruiting and retaining teachers in rural secondary schools both in New Zealand and around the world is an ongoing issue. Factors such as geographic isolation, insufficiency of resources in schools, and inability for career advancement, are some of the issues identified (Collins, 1999; Hudson & Hudson, 2008; Lamb, Glover, & Walstab, 2014; Monk, 2007). Nicky explained that one of the negative factors about living in a rural community was the feeling of being restricted in her career:

“I feel very much like, like I can't... people make their career plans, like what they want to do in five years or ten years and I can't do that because I can't really do what I want to do here. But then it's a great place to bring up a family, Gus has got a great job, he likes it here. And I still sort of feel like as a woman we get the second pick. I can't say, especially because we just built a house, let's just move because I want to do something different. So you are restricted in terms of... if it's not enough here, which I'm starting to feel like I want to do something different, but I can't do anything different unless travel for it at least 35

minutes. That's like an hour and 15 minutes a day, which is hard when you've got children".

Kath and Shirley however felt no career restrictions due to living and working in a rural community. While teaching at CHBC Shirley was a marker for School Certificate Home Economics and with the introduction of NCEA was invited down to Wellington as one of the teachers used to go through various scenarios within her subject. Both Kath and her husband marked School Certificate in their respective subjects, science and maths, and Kath also was selected to be a mentor for the New Zealand team in the International Chemistry Olympiad. This opened the door to many more career opportunities. She went on to mark bursary chemistry, and became the assistant examiner. She was the only teacher from a rural school on the expert panel of chemistry, and became the regional moderator for NCEA in her field. She explained "*So being here in ypuke was no obstacle, because if you were interested and you wanted to know things first hand, and you wanted to be innovative, you had to get out of your comfort zone, you couldn't just sit here and just do nothing!*".

5.4.6 POSITIVE ASPECTS OF RURAL LIFE

While each woman discussed the negative aspects of living in a rural community, they all strongly felt the positives outweighed them. Each woman believed due to the small community, their relational teaching was enhanced. Kath explained people knew who you were in the community and that you were doing things for their children both in and outside of school "*There was an appreciation of anything we did outside of the classroom*". Shirley spoke of the huge support and care she felt from the community.

She also found because she knew so many of the families in the community, if there was a concern about a student, she would often ring the parents personally and work through the situation *“We’d discuss it quietly there, and it would be dealt with without having to go through the school system”*. Tess also found the relational component of teaching enriched due to the intimate community;

“Teachers are also held in high esteem by the right people, and you are put on a pedestal, you are considered the best of the best, so there is the flip side you know for lack of competition or whatever it is. If you are that teacher of that level and if you are good you are really talked about and talked up, and you can walk around with your head held very high so there is that side of a small town. There is that side of, you know, this child going through this at the moment and you’re privy to personal information that helps you in a classroom, you know that normally would be hidden behind paperwork, you know, so all of a sudden you’re thinking ok I can handle this child today because they’re going through this, it is the small town thing”.

Nicky felt like she could make a huge difference teaching at CHBC and she also felt that that difference she made was acknowledged;

“It’s a small enough community that what you do can have an effect that you can measure. I don’t know, I imagine in a city, things can get lost. The positive is that you know everyone, and also I think that helps when you’re teaching, is that parents know, for the parents that care, they perhaps take a bit more ownership because you might walk into

*them and I feel like it's easier to look at everyone individually and to know where they have come from, because you actually **do** know where they have come from. So therefore you can help the kids and perhaps potentially prevent things happening in your classroom, because you're aware of how the ground lies".*

5.5 FAMILY LIFE

This section focuses on the career break, and subsequent return to teaching each of the women experienced after having children. It also discusses the work home life balance the women faced while teaching.

5.5.1 CAREER BREAK

While teaching Jeannette and Nicky both took their babies at some point either to school with them, or had students come to their house. Jeannette never intended to go back to teaching once she had her first baby, Mary, but was approached by the principal at the time as the music teacher had gone overseas. One AFS (Student Exchange Programme) student from the States was taking bursary music and two college students were taking 6th Form music and they desperately needed someone to teach them. In research carried out by Evetts (1988) and Acker (1992) female teachers returning to the profession after a career break due to having children, discovered the network of former colleagues, personal contacts, and heads of department in the school, were influential in bringing about their return, especially when teachers were in such short supply. Many teachers interviewed spoke of shoulder taps and chance meetings in the street, that led to them re-entering the teaching workforce (Acker,

1992). While Jeannette did not want to come back to school to work she was prepared to offer a solution. As Mary was a very good baby she agreed that if the timetable could be fitted into her schedule, and the girls were allowed to come to her home, she would teach them. She had the lounge and dining room set up with the gramophone, records and books, and all the study materials required, *“And those girls were wonderful, they got on their bikes and arrived at my home and were here in time, they got on their bikes and they were back to their next classes. The whole experience was a pleasant challenge and all three girls passed their exams and went on to have musical careers”*.

Nicky can remember with her first child, taking the bouncenette into class to play the piano. *“So Erica was born in May and I was back in August, I was back in July doing all the accompaniment for Fryer Cup and I was teaching the keyboard, and the flute. So I basically didn't really have a break, but I could fit it around breastfeeding and stuff. And then the next year I was back teaching two maths classes and Gus had Erica and I popped back to feed inbetween, and then the following year I was head of music again”*.

Tess also had a wonderful baby that meant she was able to fit her into her career;

“She was born at Christmas. So I had the wee holiday to start with, and I had the first term off. She was a beautiful baby who slept all night and she only fed 3 times a day so I was able to go back teaching full-time and breast feed for a year. So she made it easy, and then I was offered the whole year (off) but at the end of the first term I just thought, well I was sitting around all day waiting for this baby to wake up and I was so used to being busy that I said to Paddy well I think I can actually go back! And we managed right through that whole year. So I had that

wee wee break, but part of me down the road a bit more I thought perhaps I should have taken a bit longer. Teaching lends itself beautifully to bringing up children”.

Shirley, Toni, and Kath all took time off their teaching and had a small readjustment period when they returned. Shirley felt ready to return to school. By now her children were almost teenagers and although she missed being home for them after school, she was ready for the challenge. She didn't find the transition returning after having children too difficult. *“I had been out and I to restructure all my program again because things had changed but that's how it happens”.* She remained loosely connected with the school for the 14 years she took off while having children. She got sent the school newsletter every week and her sister also taught at the college so she caught up on what was happening. Toni took time off when she had her children because she really felt she wanted to be at home and be a mum while her children were pre-schoolers *“And every time my maternity ended I'd go back to the principal, who was then Richard Schumacher, and say “I'm not ready to come back” and he would say “take another year”, which I did, he was very supportive actually”.* She did some work in Danniverke and her husband stayed at home and looked after the children and went back to work at CHBC part time six years later. Kath had a six or seven year break before gaining her position at CHBC. She, like Jeannette and Nicky, did not want to work full time with children so negotiated a part time contract. This however was a confronting situation for Kath as she experienced a very negative response from the principal at the time. Kath was approached by the college;

*“We’re desperate for a maths teacher what do you think? And I said “I’m not prepared to go full time, but if I can have the last hour off each day, if I go part-time, if you can wangle the time table I will do it”. ... I went to see (the principal) and I said “I’m thinking of applying for the job, will you have any possibility of part-time?” And he said “well I don’t know at this stage but I’ll tell you straight”, he said, “that if somebody else with your qualifications applies, some other who hasn’t got a young family”, in other words he’s a man! “they will get the job over you”. And I was **so incensed** I came home and I said to Dave “Do you know what (the principal) said to me!?” So he said “right! we going to go and see him.” So we went to see him”.*

Kath had taught prior to teaching at CHBC and really felt the pull back to teaching “I had already done more than required, coaching netball and being involved in school music. I thought it would be an absolute waste if I didn’t teach, so that’s why we decided I would do it”. Despite the conversation with the principal she was pleased to be offered the job at the college. As she had been out of the classroom for some time Kath made a lot of effort to get back into the curriculum. Some things had changed so it took a period of time to find her feet. Nicky felt as though she never really left, so coming back into school full time was not a huge transition in regards to the teaching.

5.5.2 WORK HOME LIFE BALANCE

For any working Mother the work home life balance is constantly changing. While the women interviewed all agreed teaching lends it's self beautifully to raising children, any teacher will tell you the job does not stop at 3.00pm when the bell rings. Section 2.4, Women in Teaching, looked at the different lifecycles teachers encounter. The feelings of stress and burn out for beginning teachers was identified as a major consideration (Huberman, 1989). Tess experienced this feeling of stress and burn out which ultimately led to her resignation from CHBC *"I worked long hideous hours and the reason I left in the end was because I didn't see my two-year-old daughter awake for three days. Because I did such long hours the work life balance was out of control, **out- of- control**. Pre children it probably wasn't a big issue because Paddy and I very have our own lives as such, and we're very busy people, but once you introduce a child into it the equation, it is out of control"*.

Ball and Goodson (1985) discuss that it is important to recognise that even women who follow a 'normal' career pattern will experience their careers differently from men. Huberman (1989) discovered one of the main difficulties of the younger female teachers interviewed was finding the equilibrium between the demands of home life and school life. This was a difficulty never discussed by the males interviewed. Of the six teachers I interviewed three are retired and three are still working. Both Toni and Nicky's children are still at home and both have chosen to work part time in order to find some work home life balance.

Nicky explained that she is constantly shuffling to keep the balance working. She also feels she is in a slightly different position as her son has high needs, *"Having to deal with*

him but having to meet up for a while with different therapists and working out what was wrong with him. But now it's just managing him waking up early, feeling tired, constantly needing attention, and not being able to do things for himself at the age that other kids could. So I get to school sometimes and I can relax because I know I can control my environment at school better than my home one". She also noted that while teaching allows her to take her own children to their extracurricular activities after school instead of having them in care, this creates instances where she leaves work with unfinished tasks, "Your head is still in it until such time as you've actually dealt with it. So in that respect sometimes I think it easier if you're at school till 5 o'clock, deal with it - go home". Physically Nicky felt the work home life balance can be a positive, but emotionally and mentally its hard work.

Once Toni had children, for a period of time, she knew she needed to be at home and not teach "I just stopped teaching because I knew I couldn't do it. I couldn't be a slave to two masters, I couldn't do it, and I didn't want to. I wanted to focus on... I guess it's a belief that at the time... I had no desire to teach part-time, I wanted to be fully immersed in being a parent and I just knew that I couldn't do both". Now her children are both older and out of primary school it is still a personal choice to teach part time in order to find that balance;

"I was working full-time, I've worked full time for the last two and a half years, and I just couldn't do it. I just can't do it I can't maintain the full time job and keep all the balls in the air, I just couldn't do it. And so I talked to my boss about it and he asked me to identify what I needed, and I said I needed time for a work life balance and part of that was

fitness and being able to do some fitness every day and so out of that came .8. "So you finish at 1:30 everyday, do whatever you need to do before you get your kids, have had time to unwind?" Yeah I go to the pool, I swim, and walk, but it's about having some space to reflect and think and just kind of have some own time which you don't have when you're teaching. Because you teach however many kids you teach in a day, and then the rest of your time is taken up with meetings, and the rest of that times taken up with marking, and preparation, and assessment, and that's hoping that someone doesn't have a meltdown and a drama in the middle of the day that you have to then (deal with it) and so there just is no time. Probably I've been full time or I've not worked and neither of those suit me. I need to work and I need to have my own time. I can't do one or the other I'm better with a balance. And also too I love teaching, I love my subject, I love my boys that I teach, and I love the work that I do".

Tess' daughter is now an adult but back living at home and Tess is back working full time HOD of Music at an all girl's secondary school. Her partner and daughter are very supportive:

"They've taken over the role of the Homemaker, which you know maternally you feel very challenged about. I like to make a home, I like to be the person who put the meal on the table, I like the fire going, I like the homely thing but it's like right, and it does get really stressful and fierce at times. But there's a part of you that doesn't want to let go

but you have to because school has asked too much of you. So I guess with men, if they were to be that position they would be like huh, whatever happens will happen. They're not traditionally the homemakers they're not the ones that put dinner on the table, so you know they will cope, it's not that inward turmoil".

While having a young family at home, the demands of what is required after school hours is a constant balancing act. The women all discussed the time it took to plan their lessons and mark work. Discussion included weekends and the pull for family time verses the workload of teaching for the following week. Nicky stated *"And then it comes to Saturday and you're thinking oh I don't really want to do it on Sunday night... I want to make my plans for the next week and workout who's delivering who and get some cock pot meals ready or whatever. So it comes to Saturday and I'm like when am I going to do my schoolwork and then it starts to sink in".* Kath also tried to limit school work in the weekends. She would protect Friday night and Saturday for her family time but come Sunday, the preparing and planning would be in full swing *"On Sunday night I would sit down and be preparing my lessons and be really organised for the following week".*

Jeannette made the decision that she would not teach at the college while her children attended however continued her career by teaching typing night classes for adults every week 20 years at CHBC. Kath and her husband encountered some difficulties due to teaching their children. They both tried to avoid teaching them for as long as they could, but in a smaller school it was eventually inevitable. She explained she couldn't bring home tests to prepare they would be sitting and also marking of the classes work they were in. Kath's son was very bright, being awarded dux in his final year at college. One

day her son came to her relieved. He gained 90+% in both maths and science School Certificate *“Oh” he said to me, “thank goodness!” And I said what do you mean? “Well none of the kids will be able to say to me are you only got good marks because my parents had shown me the papers before we sat them”. “That's what some kids were accusing him of, only doing well because he had seen it and we'd told him what was in it”.*

5.6 NCEA

This section looks at NCEA in relation to rural schools. Topics of discussion include moderation, learning opportunities, workload, and family life.

5.6.1 NCEA IN RURAL SCHOOLS

As discussed earlier in 2.8, with the implementation of NCEA a permanent increase in work load in the areas of curriculum and assessment was recognised. Five out the six women I interviewed taught at CHBC under the NCEA system. Each of these women identified that teaching in a rural school created a more complex work load when it came to aspects of NCEA. Toni discussed that not being able to meet with other schools regularly and collegially is a problem of a rural area. In a smaller school if there are not enough, or any other, teachers in your department you have to travel to do your moderation. Tess explained some of the complexities moderation in a rural school creates, *“I sent mine (moderation) to Wellington which is very stressful, because you can't protect your student, you can't defend your student, because you're not one on one, and you just sent something off blindly. Nobody for whatever reason half an hour up the road wants to come down. It's always me going there and that is stressful”.* None of the

women had ever experienced anyone from another other school travel to them for NCEA requirements such as moderation or training. Nicky explained that the requirements to moderate mean a necessity to travel which creates a huge amount of work;

*“It's hard to liaise with other teachers. I'm the only one of my subject so if I want to ask someone, whilst the internet is there... it takes about an hour every day (to read). But one of the requirements now is that two weeks after an assessment you have to have a sample moderated by another teacher teaching that (topic). So that means that if we do it right, we would be traveling frequently to another school. And to do that, even if you get the time, you've still got to set relief, so that becomes twice as much work because you've got to set all the work for the day, and then you'll be away for the day, plus the travel time. **“Has anyone ever come to you?”** No. And everything we travel. Anytime we have a day to do anything we travel, it's not like every four years we have anyone travel to us”.*

Tess discussed other areas of moderation which cause complicated situations. Due to the smaller size of rural schools the cohort is limited. She explained within music, the requirements for moderation might be near impossible to achieve *“They might say external moderation this year is level 3 group performance and you think, I've got one kid! Then you've got to find a group situation for that student, where as its just naturally happening up in the cities”.*

Nicky, Tess, and Kath all spoke about opportunities not able to be taken up easily based on geographical location. Both Nicky and Tess taught music at CHBC. They spoke about

the huge cost involved that city schools do not encounter when taking up music learning opportunities, Tess explained *“Geographically we’re challenged at Central we don't have the opportunity to be part of an orchestra, part of an opera, part of a choir situation, you’re relying solely on the school or your local churches or your local small groups. And that is great because here in Central we have lots and lots of things we are involved with, but we are limited, geographically”*. Nicky identified the process involved in taking up music opportunities offered, that city schools don’t face; *“People might come to an area and they might say that there's a group giving a performance, and they'll come to a city and those people can take that opportunity. But if we do it we have to find the money to get a bus there, and our time, and then we have to do with the safety Rams (Risk, Assessment, Management Strategies), and everything so it just... I think there's a rural travel fund and I don't know whether it is just for sport, but it goes to sport”*.

Kath who taught chemistry also discovered geographical issues. Things which were included in NCEA exams were not easily accessed in rural areas;

“And it’s hard, for example they’ve now got spectroscopy in the syllabus for level 3 (chemistry). It’s where they use machines to analyse things, they can put a sample in and it will come out and say, there’s so much alcohol in this, there’s so much p and LSD. The kids here have got to analyse the spectrographs without ever having seen one of these things operate. At least at Palmerston North for example, you can make an arrangement or they have a teacher’s night where you go out to the university and you see these things”.

Shirley, who taught home economics, shared a similar experience. Questions about a doner kebab machine were in an exam paper, *“My kids had never heard of it!...so it was in the exam and they didn’t even know what it was!”*. She felt that the person setting the exam was unaware of the limited resources in rural schools.

5.6.2 NCEA WORKLOAD AND FAMILY LIFE

Research has indicated an increased work load due to NCEA (Fastier, 2007; Hipkins, 2013; Ingvarson et al., 2005) however, the five teachers who taught under NCEA all disagreed with aspects of these findings. Teaching in a rural, generally smaller school, means that sometimes you are the sole teacher in your department. Due to this, they all felt that their workload was already excessive compared to their urban counterparts, so while the workload increased, that was somewhat common place for them. When discussing the time and energy that goes into teaching and factoring in the rural or smaller school Tess explained the difficulties, *“(Teaching in a) Smaller school, being rural, only allowed one teacher in my department, and I had to do everything! I am sitting in a meeting the other day in the same region as this teacher she’s 1 of 5 in the music department.”*

Another factor highlighted in the research was the impact NCEA brought about for female teachers. When asked the question of the impact NCEA has had on this balance between work and home life, Toni responded *“There is no work life balance, that’s a croc.”* Shirley also agreed it ate into her time, not only in a physical sense but also mentally *“The fact that I drove the bus was really good because I’d leave school with my head spinning and by the time I got home, nearly an hour’s drive, I’d actually wound*

down". Tess noted the stress of NCEA eats into her family time also due to her subject area "It's a tricky one because I'm in a subject area that robs you of time anyway. On the average with NCEA I have been pulled in many situations... it's because you're trying to Rubik Cube your students, and you're running choir practices because you know that in NCEA five girls need that for the group performance, but then after that you've got to quickly make sure that this girl who wants to do her flute performance has an accompaniment".

5.7 EMOTIONALITY

The final section discusses the emotionality experienced within the teaching profession. Included in the discussion are, experiences as a beginning teacher, success with individual students, and the emotions experienced at the different career stages.

5.7.1 EMOTION AND THE BEGINNING TEACHER

In his study carried out with 50 primary and secondary school teachers in Canada, Hargreaves (2005) conducted research looking how teachers responded emotionally to educational change. Teachers were asked if they found their emotional responses had changed over the years and at different stages of their life and career. Beginning teachers often had experienced anxiety; the complexities of learning to teach, whether or not they are doing a good job, and also anxieties in their interaction with parents, and teaching children who experience violence and poverty (Hargreaves, 2005; Sutton and Wheatley, 2003). Tess explained that when she first started teaching she was young and struggled to deal with the constant tiredness and trying to plan *"I didn't have the strategies to deal with being tired and trying to plan and having the experience of*

shortcuts, so everything had to be overdone. So you go to bed at 2am and you get up at 6am and start the regime again". Toni also recalled the extreme tiredness and trying to function well and found things quite overwhelming. She explained that she had very high expectations of her students and drove them pretty hard. Shirley on the other hand loved the challenge in those first few years. The training she had received she felt was excellent and she had a clear vision of where she wanted to go.

5.7.2 EMOTION IN TEACHING

When asked if they felt teaching was an emotional job each of the six women emphatically replied yes. Tess answered, *"Absolutely, absolutely it's a roller-coaster. I love it when I can walk out of class and have a fist pump moment and they happen, and I love it I absolutely love it. But, but that can be slapped out of you within a second by someone saying something, or a parent saying something, or just an event".* Toni explained that for her teaching is primarily about relationships;

"Do you feel that teaching is an emotional job?" *"Yes, yes I do, but I believe primarily that relationships, you have to get the relationships first with students. In the past students would do what you wanted them to do because there wasn't an acceptance that you knew, and you had information which they needed. Now it's about you and the learner sharing the journey together. So you both are learners committed to the learning. So you're not the fount of all knowledge, and they're not knowing nothing. So the deeper your relationships you have students, the more emotion is involved. For me personally I love every single*

student I teach and that is non-negotiable. But that's just for me. So in that way it is emotional because you share their highs and their lows”.

Both Nicky and Shirley explained children from different indigenous cultures or lower socio economic backgrounds responded differently. They both felt they were often more open emotionally. Shirley felt that it was easier to break any walls down they may have around them and received more love from them. Nicky explained;

“I've felt really in touch with the Māori students. I think maybe because I came from a really white (Pākehā) community, I'm not saying that that didn't make me... perhaps I just feel more of a bond now. I feel like, I want to specialise in Māori students, maybe it's because other people don't, I don't know, and I find it so easy just to relate and help to attend to their specific needs whatever they might be, its normally just to be understood and loved”.

When discussing emotion, each of the six women told me numerous, individual stories of student's success. From inviting students to their homes for extra tuition, to staying up all night perfecting a musical piece, each story was a personal recollection of a moment shared with a student, and a great sense of achievement for all involved. Jeannette recalled;

“I was in bed with the mumps and it was a hot Hawke's Bay day. The doorbell rang, a girl who was working at the local dairy came and said “Mrs White would you teach me to type? I want to go into the navy and I've got to have 30 words a minute in six weeks”... That was the last thing I wanted to do! I told her I couldn't guarantee anything but I suggested one hour's practice before you go to work in the morning,

bring your lunch and I'll give you a lesson and another hour's practice, and another hour's practice in the evening. She did it! We got to 30 words in six weeks but had a way to go with the standard of accuracy required. I was so impressed with her that I wrote to the authorities and told them the story and recommend they accept her. And they did! And she did very well in the navy!"

Sutton and Wheatley (2003) also examined the negative emotions found in teaching. These included anger, frustration, and especially with beginning teachers, anxiety. Kath explained; *"When you say emotion people think love but it's not that, you can get angry and you can get.. there's a whole range. And if you're not, as I said emotionally involved in it, you're not doing a good job. If you're not getting to the Nitty Gritty of it, it's not just knowledge from me to you, and use it how you will, it's developing your whole life really"*. Nicky spoke about the range of emotions experienced when teaching, not only emotion involved in wanting students to succeed academically, but also in their personal lives *"There's the two emotionals, there's wanting them to succeed academically and feeling the pressure of that which is an emotional thing, you're feeling constantly like you need to do better for them. But then there's the other side that you heard about issues that are surrounding them and you want to help them in that way, which isn't also necessarily part of your job but a wider part of your job"*.

5.7.3 EMOTION THROUGHOUT CAREER STAGES

Research has indicated that the emotionality in teaching is strongly affected by teachers' age, career stages, and generation (Hargreaves, 2005; Huberman, 1993). As discussed in

2.9, Emotionality in Teaching, Toni found the biggest change she found was after she had children:

*“When I was teaching at Central I used to think that it was a level playing field. I was aware that not everyone came from the same background, but I had the thinking that every child could achieve if only they did what I wanted them to do. Now I know that is not to be true. I know that every child can achieve, but they don't come from the same playing field. And so you have to adjust your teaching, you have to adjust your relationships accordingly, and that's often quite emotional. And the more you know your students, and the more they know you, the deeper the relationship is and then you move into a space of caring. Where as in the past I was interested in my curriculum but not necessarily interested in the kids. Now I'm interested in the kids because I know that I can't do my curriculum without doing that first. **“How do you think you got to that place? Is it because you're older and wiser?”** Yes. Yes it's because I'm a Mother. When I was teaching at Central I didn't have children and so I didn't have an aspect of my life that understood what it means to be... to have children, and becoming a mother has enriched my teaching in a way that would not have happened otherwise”.*

Evetts (1988) discusses in her research with female teachers having returned to the profession after a career break having children the women interviewed felt once they returned their self-confidence had increased. Their experiences at home increased their

confidence with fellow staff, students, and parents, and added to their understandings of the capabilities and needs of the children.

These findings document the contextualized experiences of the six women interviewed. These experiences are specific to Central Hawke's Bay College, in which they taught, and to the time period in which they taught. Their experiences are also specific to the wider community of Central Hawkes Bay where they lived while working at CHBC. It is important to bear in mind that while their experiences may be similar to that of other rural female secondary school teachers in New Zealand, they are unique to them.

5.8 DISCUSSION

The lives and intersecting of careers have been shared, the stories have been told, the joys and frustrations given. But, what does this data tell us about the lives and careers of these women? How do their stories complement or refute the literature? This discussion will focus on the five sections analysed in section two of this chapter; 'Arrival in a New Community', 'Rural Life', 'Family Life', 'NCEA', and 'Emotionality' linking it to relevant literature.

ARRIVAL IN A NEW COMMUNITY

Contrasting research was reviewed in the area of belonging when first arriving in a rural community. Some evidence suggested these communities created a stronger sense of acceptance and identity than their urban counterparts (Theobald & Nachtigal, 1995), whereas other research found these small tight knit communities difficult to break into and often at times closed off to newcomers (Yarrow, et al., 1999 & McIntosh, 1989, p.

28, as cited in Yarrow et al., 1999). Four of the six women interviewed were not originally from Central Hawkes Bay. Nicky and Kath both expressed the difficulties they faced when arriving in this small rural town. They explained it took some time to 'break in' and Nicky stated it wasn't until she had her own children, three or four years later, that she really felt part of the community. Toni however, found that due to marrying a local man from a well-known family she was automatically accepted. While this took some getting used to, she found she settled relatively easily into the community she had moved into, as supported by the literature (Appleton, 1998).

Tess and Shirley were both originally from this community but had very different experiences returning home. Tess felt like she had to constantly prove herself, and she was often asked why she had returned. She also experienced the feelings of comparison to her peers and judgement cast by fellow teachers. Shirley however felt total acceptance returning, she fitted straight back in and felt very supported and loved by her colleagues.

Four of the six women interviewed spoke in detail of the churches and groups they belonged to outside of the school community. They explained the huge significance these groups had in helping create a sense of belonging and as a way of introducing them to other people in the town, these findings were consistent with the literature (Anderson, 2010; Pretty et al., 2003).

While the initial arrival into the community produced some mixed feelings of acceptance and different stages of belonging, all of the six women overwhelmingly felt a huge sense of acceptance within the community in their teaching role. As stated within the literature (McCracken & Miller, 1988; Nelson 1992), the significant role of the rural teacher, the high regard had for the teaching profession, and the support felt from the

parents, was all experienced by the six women. Tess's comment captured this particularly well: *"Teachers are also held in high esteem by the right people, and you are put on a pedestal, you are considered the best of the best... you can walk around with your head held very high"*. Due to the small size of both the school and community, the teachers explained they knew their students well and this translated into their teaching. Nicky described the significance of her role *"It's a small enough community that what you do can have an effect that you can measure...I feel like it's easier to look at everyone individually and to know where they have come from, because you actually **do** know where they have come from"*.

RURAL LIFE

Previous research found that teachers in rural communities face both positive and negative experiences as their private and public lives intersect (Blase, 1988; Jenkins, 2007; Miller et al., 2006). These findings were echoed by the six women interviewed. Each of the women shared stories of situations where either their private lives had been discussed, judgements had been made about personal pastimes, or general criticisms about teachers had been relayed to them. They agreed they felt that these intrusions and judgments may not have been made if they were living in the city or a larger more populated community. Tess' description of how this felt resonated with the 'fishbowl' phenomena (Blase, 1988; Jenkins, 2007 & Miller, et al., 2006).

Conversely, it was apparent from the data, the love and care many of the women also felt from the community. Nicky shared the way in which she felt taken such good care

of by the wider community. She explained the feelings of love, value, and nurture, she received *“I’ve always felt nurtured and I don’t think they would do that the same for... maybe a young male. But you know women sort of have that vulnerability that people want to protect and look after”*. Each teacher discussed the respect they felt from the wider community. They all spoke of being recognised when in town and both students and parents sharing their lives, and, taking a genuine interest in the teachers lives, these examples corresponded with the literature (Obst et al., 2002; Looker, 2014).

FAMILY LIFE

Stress and burn out especially in relation to the home work life balance has a significant impact on teachers as identified in the literature (Cinamon & Rich, 2005; Huberman, 1989; Pierce & Molloy, 1990), and this was supported by the data collected. The women shared stories of when this stress became overwhelming and it had an effect on those at home. Tess described the work life balance as sometimes being out of control. She explained that pre children she didn’t feel like it was such an issue, but as soon as a child was introduced to the equation, things quickly escalated. The literature also outlined an approach in combating this stress was negotiating to work part time and flexible hours (Healy, 1999; Lovejoy & Stone, 2012). This was shown in the decision made by the two teachers who still had children at home, to choose part time work in order to restore some equilibrium into their lives. Toni explained she felt she could not maintain a full time job and juggle that with her role as wife and Mother. Choosing part time hours for Toni and Nicky has meant they now feel they felt they could give their best to both their own children, and the children they teach, as well as having some time for themselves.

NCEA

One key issue that was raised repeatedly throughout the interviews, but missing from the specific literature relating to rural schools, was that of NCEA. However, analysis from the data gathered produced conflicting results from the participants. The research literature confirmed that NCEA has produced a permanent increase in workload (Fastier, 2007; Hipkins, 2013; Ingvarson et al., 2005; Schagen et al., 2008). This was verified by the five women interviewed who taught under NCEA, however, they all felt that their workload was already excessive compared to their urban counterparts. They each discussed in detail the issues they dealt with regularly, and maintained that many of the requirements of NCEA are not conducive to small rural schools. The two main areas of dissatisfaction were moderation and required learning opportunities.

Nicky explained that in order to meet the requirements, once an internal assessment was submitted, in the following two weeks it must be moderated by another teacher teaching that subject (and year level). In a school the size of CHBC there are many departments with a sole teacher; music, Māori, drama, and art, for examples. Therefore, she explained, she would be regularly travelling to another school to complete moderation. On the NZQA website (2016a) it states;

Random selection for external moderation must be undertaken by someone other than the teacher who marked the work, must use a method that does not allow for prediction and must include the work of all students who submitted work for the assessment. The selection should be made as soon as possible after the assessment and should be conducted for every standard assessed by the school.

While there is the option of submitting moderation online (NZQA, 2016b) Nicky explained the process was time consuming and stressful. NZQA also state on their website for those teachers who submit moderation online, “The moderation report takes up to six weeks on average to complete”. In speaking with each teacher in the study, none had ever experienced anyone from another school travelling to them to complete moderation. Tess explained she sent her moderation to Wellington which she described as very stressful. In doing this she believed she was not able to protect or defend her students work because it was not a face to face situation. She discussed the stress involved in constant travel for moderation also expressing her frustrations at never having anyone travel to her.

The second issue relating to NCEA’s impact in rural schools, was the inability for all NCEA learning opportunities to be accessed due to geographical location. Shirley and Kath both voiced their anger and frustration in situations where they felt their students were disadvantaged. They both relayed instances where equipment (the doner kebab machine and spectroscopy machine) was used in exams which they could not readily access. Tess and Nicky also made similar comparisons regarding music learning opportunities. Internal requirements such as a level 3 group performance for classical musicians, had to be manufactured, and performances by musical groups were only available in the cities. These not only had a monetary cost, but also a cost in time and organisation, as Nicky explained: *“People might come to an area and they might say that there’s a group giving a performance, and they’ll come to a city and those people can take that opportunity. But if we do it we have to find the money to get a bus there, and our time, and then we have to do the safety rams”*. According to the literature,

research had identified compensation for rural schools was needed, however Abel and Swell (1999) also stated they did not believe this had been achieved. They discussed the need for these findings to be considered and addressed.

EMOTIONALITY

Throughout the interviews each woman shared stories of students they taught, and situations they found themselves in while living and working in CHB. Inherently these stories told of the emotional experiences and reactions felt by the participants. Hargreaves (1998) and Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) describe the emotional labour teachers face. The literature defines emotional labour as situations where despite the teachers' feeling, they need to get themselves into a place where they can portray characteristics, such as patience and love, in order to perform well in the job. Kath explained the emotions she experienced while teaching were not just feelings of love, but it was the full range, anger through to joy.

As discussed in the literature the emotions teachers feel are inseparable from their moral purposes (Hargreaves, 1998). If teachers feel they have not given their best to their students based on their own moral standards they may experience feelings such as shame, and conversely, feelings of success and joy when they are fulfilling the standards they have set for themselves in the classroom. The data collected for this study indicated this to be the case. Kath believed that in order to do your job well as a teacher, you needed to be emotionally involved, not just passing on knowledge to students, but actually being partially responsible for developing a whole life. Tess described the emotion felt while teaching was that of a roller coaster, a fist pump

moment one minute, that can be slapped out of your hand in a second with a negative comment or situation.

It was apparent from the data, that each of the six teachers experienced a vast number of memorable situations over their time teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College, where they were able to help their students achieve. This data corresponded with the literature which presented findings stating the positive emotions experienced by teachers. These emotions were described as bringing about feeling of joy, satisfaction, and pleasure, through student progress and success (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003).

Denzin (1984) described emotional understanding as a process of one person entering into the field of experience of another, and in turn, experiencing similar moments. The data confirmed this as Toni expressed her teaching changed dramatically once becoming a parent. She explained that while she was teaching at CHBC she didn't have children so there was an aspect of her life that didn't understand what that meant. She believes that becoming a Mother enriched her teaching in a way that would not have happened otherwise. On reflection, Toni can see the way in which she now approaches teaching is very different due to her life experiences. Hargreaves (2005) in his research, discovered teachers who had become parents led to having a greater appreciation for the teaching role and the intricacies around raising children.

5.9 SUMMARY

This chapter was divided into three sections. It began with a vignette of each of the six women interviewed to give us a context for each woman. The second part of the chapter presented the findings of the oral history interviews and the contexts in which the

women I interviewed lived and worked. The majority of this section was organised thematically to reflect the commonalities and the diversity of the women's experience. A limited number of relevant literature sources were used to introduce and frame each of the themes. This is consistent with a research approach that set out to tell the stories of the women in the research.

The data was broken down into five sections. The first section; 'Arriving in a New Community', looked at the initial reception for the four newcomers to the area, and the wider influence this rural community has had on the participants as they adjusted to their new social landscape. It also explored the contrasting experiences of Tess and Shirley, the two women who returned home to CHB. The support from both the school and wider community was discussed and identified as being key in reinforcing their acceptance into Central Hawkes Bay. Section two; 'Rural Life', covered a wide range of experiences and perspectives from the participants. Sense of belonging in both the school and wider community was discussed and the way in which being a teacher carried with it a high opinion socially. The dynamics of the private public nature of teaching in a small rural community generated much conversation, in particular the occurrence of 'fishbowl' living. Contrasting experiences and opinions from Nicky, Kath, and Shirley were expressed concerning career restrictions due to rurality, and, finally, the positive aspects of rural life were shared by the six women. Section three looked at 'Family Life' – the construction of the career in relation to having children, career breaks, and returning to work, and the work home life balance was explained and debated. Section four covered 'NCEA'. Robust discussion was shared, which at times contrasted with the literature reviewed, and to end, the fifth section looked at 'Emotion', throughout teaching, and through the six teacher's career stages.

The third and final section of the chapter discussed the data in this study in relation to the literature. This analysis has added to our knowledge base about female teachers in a rural secondary school in New Zealand, and the intersecting of their lives and careers in this specific community. It discussed the evidence gathered on feelings of belonging on arriving in a new community, It identified the respect and care experienced by the six teachers, and the intersecting of both their private and public lives, both in a positive and negative way. It also highlighted the broader issues of; home-work life balance for working mothers, the 'fishbowl' phenomena, factors relating to NCEA in rural schools, and emotionality in the teaching role across the various life stages.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter six begins with an overview of the study. I then present my contribution to the literature, return to the feminist perspective and note the limitations of this study. Finally, I put forward my recommendations for future research based on this study and a personal reflection concludes the thesis.

6.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

This was a qualitative research study situated in the context of life history methodology. I did not set out with a hypothesis I intended to prove. Instead, my research was based on two overarching questions:

- What are rural women teachers' experiences and perspectives of teaching at Central Hawkes Bay College?
- How do the lives and careers of woman teachers intersect while living and working in this rural community?

These questions led to my examination of the relevant literature. As a result of the research I had done, I concluded the method of life history and narrative inquiry would produce the data I required (Ball & Goodson, 1985, Goodson, 1994, Middleton, 1996, Sikes & Goodson, 2003). I also sought to engage feminist principles, placing myself in the research and being as open as possible. From the literature, I developed a schedule of questions and conducted semi structured interviews with six participants, all women, who had taught at Central Hawkes Bay College.

The data collected from these interviews were analysed thematically. I then compared these themes to those that had arisen from my literature review. I presented my findings, beginning with a short vignette on each participant. The findings were then broken down into five main sections and the chapter concluded with a discussion in relation to both the findings and literature reviewed. Throughout, the participants were directly quoted frequently in order to ensure that their 'personal' voices were represented.

The importance of both the research of teachers lives (Ball & Goodson, 1985; Convery, 1999; O'Brien & Schillaci, 2002), and story (Dhunpath, 2000; Witherell & Noddings, 1991), was apparent in this process. During the interviews the participants recalled a vast number of stories and retold memories. This highlighted for me how many female histories are not being told, listened to, or researched and reaffirmed my choice of topic and approach for this thesis.

6.3 CONTRIBUTION TO LITERATURE

Contrasting literature research was found in the areas of belonging and acceptance into small rural communities. The data I recovered from the interviews confirmed this. Some of the women felt total love and acceptance within their new community and appreciated the intimacy the small town generated. Others, however, took some time to feel that sense of belonging and experienced difficulty 'breaking in'. Participants also described the aspects of intrusion and judgements experienced being a teacher in a tight knit community, with one teacher explaining the phenomena of fishbowl living. These

findings confirmed the literature presented (Blase, 1988; Jenkins, 2007; Miller, Graham, and Paterson, 2006).

The significant role of the rural teacher, the high regard this position is held, and support from both the parents and wider community, were discussed within the data collected. The participants described the respect they received from both the school and wider community, noting they may not have experienced the same in a larger more urban community. These findings were consistent with, and affirmed, previous research (McCracken & Miller 1988; Nelson, 1992).

The final significant contribution that confirmed the literature reviewed, centred around the feelings of stress and burn out in the lives of female teachers with children. Findings suggested a strong motivational factor within teaching was the ability to choose part-time, flexible hours as a way of reducing the stress and burn out experienced by working mothers (Lovejoy & Stone, 2012). Healy (1999) claimed controlling time through both fewer hours, and the ability to contain travel both to and from work, was particularly significant. These findings were corroborated by the data received from the participants, two of which chose part time hours in order to complement their home life.

My findings were to some extent at odds with those presented on workload factors generated by NCEA (Fastier, 2007; Hipkins, 2013; Ingvarson et al., 2005; Schagen et al., 2008). Research stated NCEA has produced a permanent increase in workload. While these findings were broadly in line with the information shared by the participants, the women interviewed argued their workload was already excessive to that of their urban counterparts. Reasons given for this were; smaller, often sole charge departments, which resulted in a greater workload in all areas.

Within this section a theme to emerge from the data, adding to the literature already available, was the requirements for moderation. Findings from my data suggested an alternative to submitting moderation for rural teachers in sole positions, such as music and drama, could be investigated. It was stated that none of the five teachers who participated in this study, under NCEA, had ever experienced anyone travel to them for moderation. Moderation requirements produced both stress and more work with regular travel and consequences of this, for example setting relief, were highlighted. Also discussed was the inability to access learning opportunities due to rurality. While this is a factor somewhat unavoidable due to location, it was noticeably absent from the literature.

6.4 RETURN TO THE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

When conducting these life history interviews, I discovered some of the significant moments, stories and encouragements, happen after the recorder has been switched off. One such encounter I had confirmed for me the empowering nature, and the feminist encounter, which is life history research. After bumping into one of the women I interviewed, she asked me how my research was going and spoke about how passionate she was about women's higher education. She explained in agreeing to be interviewed it was her way of empowering me, but also it helped her, to reflect on her life and career.

That conversation reminded me the honour and privilege I have of hearing and preserving these stories. I believe my research has acknowledged the similar

experiences of the six women while also celebrating their diversity. Anderson, Armitage, Jack, and Wittner, (1987) discuss within oral history interviews, in order to uphold feminist principles, it is important to recount more than just the facts and activities. It is vital to go deeper into how things feel, and what those feelings mean. In reflecting on my praxis in this area and whether I achieved this, I believe I did, but I could have been braver, taken more risks, and gone deeper with my line of questioning. On reflection, there is always more to be done, always more to learn in ways of achieving results, and ways to improve the honouring of both the research process, and persons. While methods such as Life history has long been preferred in feminist research, a number of researchers have recently called for mixed methods to be used. Arguments for methods such as questionnaires have been put forward as a reliable source of information gathering over interviewing, as it eliminates stress around sensitive experiences (Maynard & Purvis, 2013). While understanding this line of thought, I believe the method of life history upheld the feminist principles. I wanted to write in an authentic voice and not be unduly constrained or distorted by the science of writing and this method allowed me to do so.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

I am aware that there is a limited amount I could investigate and analyse from the findings I generated. Given the constraints of time and scope I was unable to interview a wider range of participants. Had this been done a richer complexity and depth to my data would have resulted. Specifically absent from my data set was in the area of cultural

identity as all my participants were non Māori. If Māori participants had been included it may have produced another voice, in which to compare and contrast the findings.

Also, if I were to begin this study again, given that a strength of life history is the rich subjective data it generates, I would re-interview each woman. It was only as I grew more confident and understood more about the process, that I identified a follow up interview would elicit further specific, detailed data. The areas I would discuss would be; the lifecycles they experienced in direct relation to teaching, or if their approach to teaching changed after having children.

6.6 FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis documented and analysed the lives and careers of six women at one rural secondary school, however, the data which has come from this suggest areas for future research;

- The relationship between the participants and the community was a central theme. Stories of other women relocating to live in rural communities, focusing on different careers would be interesting. What are the differences and similarities experienced by women from other occupational groups adjusting to life in a small rural community?
- Based on the intensity of discussion it would be advantageous to take deeper look into the effects NCEA has within our rural schools. Specifically, in the areas of moderation and access to a wide, robust range of learning opportunities.

- This study highlighted the wide range of emotions experienced by teachers. This is an area that has been somewhat dismissed in its importance to educational investigation. Many ripples could come from this topic including; the effect teachers career lifecycle has on their emotionality and the comparison between rural and urban teaching experiences within emotion.
- A point raised in this research by one woman was the difference in her teaching, and how she related to the role and her students, after having children of her own. A suggestion for further research could involve a longitudinal study in this area.

6.7 FINAL REFLECTIONS

This for me has been a labour, like the process of birthing my five children, it took me on a journey. There were moments of extreme pain where I could not see an end, and times of quiet where I sat waiting for a new train of thought to encompass me, and finally the overwhelming joy you experience when you see this new life for the first time. Cole and Knowles (2001) explain: “The business of doing life history work is complex and consuming, exhilarating and elusive, demanding and defining, even tiring and tedious, but with understanding the lives of others comes the possibility of understanding oneself and one’s location in the world” (p. viii). Throughout this process I have come to realise more and more the intersecting of career and life. Like the stories I was privileged enough to hear from the six women interviewed, my own sits side by side. As educators our lives and careers do intersect, some things we cannot choose, but this small rural town that I and my interviewees share is magic. This process has not been without its

struggles and surprising events, personally in my family over three years of completing this thesis, we brought our first home, had our fifth child, nursed my mother through breast cancer, and nursed my husband through kidney stones and a serious car accident. Throughout these events it was my small rural community that held me and supported me. The stories shared by the six teachers could have been my own. Their stories told of joy and sorrow, of triumph and frustration, and they sat nestled in the small rural community of Central Hawkes Bay.

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APPENDIX ONE

Letter of invitation to participate in the 'Teachers' Lives and Careers Oral History Project- *The lives and Careers of Female Teachers in a Rural Secondary School*

My name is Miriam Bucknell and I am a post graduate student at Massey University. I am conducting a life history project on the lives and careers of female teachers in rural secondary schools for the Masters of Education degree and I would like invite you to participate in this research.

This research is part of a long term project aimed to build a substantial archive of oral histories of teachers throughout Aotearoa, New Zealand. Once the research study has been completed you will be asked if you wish to have your recorded interview and/or transcript archived at Massey University. It would then be available to other bona fide researchers of teaching.

If you decide to participate an interview would be arranged at a time and place of your convenience. The interview would last between 1-2 hours and would be recorded. At any point during the interview you are able to ask for the recorder to be turned off. During this interview I would be asking you about your life and career whilst teaching in a rural secondary school, the intersecting of your home life and career, life in a rural community, what led you to teaching, and, the experience of being a female teaching in your community. The aim of the interview is to build a picture of what it has been like for you to be a female secondary school teacher in a rural community. If you prefer, we can arrange two shorter interviews rather than one longer one.

After the interview I may contact you for further clarification. Once your interview has been transcribed and I have decided which extracts I want to use, I will send you the relevant parts of my analysis for you to read over and amend if you wish to. At this point I will ask you if you wish to use your real name in the thesis or a pseudonym. Because of the nature of the research, and the information you provide, it is not possible to guarantee that people cannot identify you in the thesis.

Oral history interviews are always of real people. This means that if you agree to the archiving of your original recording and/or transcript it will be stored with your name and other summary details of your teaching career.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the research at any time or not answer questions that you do not wish to.

If you queries or concerns you are welcome to contact me via email or phone:

mimandtama@gmail.com

06 9280699

0273246585

Or you may contact my supervisor Dr John O'Neill via email: J.G.ONeill@massey.ac.nz

If you know of any other female teachers who may be interested in participating in this research I would love to have their details so I can invite them to be part of this historical research.

Thank you for considering being a part of this research project. We hope that these findings will benefit the wider education community.

Attached is a consent form to participate in the research. If you send it back to me I will contact you to arrange the interview.

Miriam Bucknell

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

APPENDIX TWO

'Teachers' Lives and Careers Oral History Project- *The lives and Careers of Female Teachers in a Rural Secondary School*

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me.
My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: **Date:**

Full Name - printed

APPENDIX THREE

Interview questions

1. Tell me something about your background. Where you grew up, where you studied teaching, and why you got into teaching.
2. If you were not originally from this community tell me about the reception you received from the 'locals', or, when you arrived back and what support networks made your transition easier.
3. What have your experiences been like teaching and living in a (this) rural community? Have they differed if you have taught in a city?
4. How did teaching change for you while you were in the job?
5. How much impact does living and working in a rural community had on your life?
Your profession? If you lived on a farm what roles and responsibilities did you have when you got home?
6. What has the private and public nature of your life, being a teacher in a small rural community, been like?
7. How have you experienced a sense of belonging in this community?
8. Throughout my research into rural communities and schools I have discovered a huge significance in the school bringing the community together, and that it provides a focal and social role, that the school belongs to the community and that it is a legacy from previous generations Have you found that to be the case? In what ways?
9. In the 1980s with the introduction of tomorrow's school's greater partnership between school and home was encouraged. Did you notice a change? How was this living and working in such a small community?
10. Can you share with some high and lows of your time teaching in this community?
11. Have there been any career defining/changing moments while teaching at CHBC?
12. Have you had any major career breaks over your time teaching? What was that experience like for you re -entering the workforce?
13. How have you found your work/life balance?
14. In the research I have read it discusses along with the introduction of NCEA the balance between work and family life had caused females in the profession created dissatisfaction. What impact has NCEA had on your teaching? Do you think that it differs being in a rural/small community?

15. "in order to bring the best to the teaching role, motivation, commitment and emotional commitment is required. In order to achieve emotional commitment, a deep knowledge of not only the students, but self is required."
What do you think of this statement? Do you feel it has been this way for you?
16. Do you think that teaching is an emotional job?

APPENDIX FOUR

INTERVIEWEES	GETTING THE TOP	EXPERIENCES IN PAPER	PRIVATE PUBLIC	TOWNS SCHOOLS	NEEA MODERATION	SCHOOL & COMM	TRAINING KIDS	EMOTION	GOOD STUFF
NICKY	[Blue scribble]		[Blue scribble]	not enough info blog ago?	small part moderation no one knows!	[Blue scribble]	Partnership school school	[Blue scribble]	career ops negative not prevents her from moving to new job
TESS	From CHRY NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE LEARNING HOME		[Blue scribble]	most for them time family have	COMMON THREAD	[Blue scribble]		Good example	career ops with stop
CONTRASTING			[Blue scribble]	work	COMMON THREAD	[Blue scribble]		Good example	career ops with stop
SHIRLEY	From CHRY NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE LEARNING HOME	local school peace change	[Blue scribble]	work	COMMON THREAD	[Blue scribble]		Good example	career ops with stop
TONI		local school peace change	[Blue scribble]	work	COMMON THREAD	[Blue scribble]		Good example	career ops with stop
LEATH	Strong about initial!! so bad		[Blue scribble]	work	COMMON THREAD	[Blue scribble]		Good example	career ops with stop
FERNANDEZ	biggest change		[Blue scribble]	work	COMMON THREAD	[Blue scribble]		Good example	career ops with stop

APPENDIX FIVE

HoU Review Group

Ethics Notification Number: 4000015251

Title: The lives and careers of female teachers in a rural secondary school in New Zealand.

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk. Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

If situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your ethical analysis, please log on to <http://rims.massey.ac.nz> and register the changes in order that they be assessed as safe to proceed.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz. "

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish require evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again answering yes to the publication question to provide more information to go before one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be

provided prior to the commencement of the research.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

If you wish to print an official copy of this letter, please login to the RIMS system, and under the Reporting section, View Reports you will find a link to run the LR Report.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch

Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)